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ABSTRACT

A project tested the effect of sponsored peer group interaction and supports on the job behavior and orientation to work of young black women in New York City. Peer group aides and staff of the Careers Project at Northside Center for Child Development worked with a control group to facilitate preparation for employment. Analysis shows that practically every member of the experimental control group held a job at some point during the program as compared with slightly more than one-third of the control group. Whether the young women were in school or out of school, and had looked for a job or had not looked for a job made differences in their view of job possibilities and of education. The peer group mechanism seemed effective in dealing with some aspects of the interplay among race, sex, and age in work behavior and expectations. (Author/WL)

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Metropolitan Applied Research Center
in cooperation with
Northside Center for Child Development

# IMPROVING EMPLOYMENT POSSIBILITIES FOR FEMALE BLACK TEENAGERS IN NEW YORK CITY

Final Report
May 1976

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EDUCATION & WELFARE
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# PREFACE

This is a report of the demonstration and testing of a program involving the work behavior of a number of young black women in the inner city of New York City over a period of more than 18 months during 1973 and 1974. The report indicates that work behavior is as much a function of the availability of work in the lives and worlds of these young people as of their work motivations. The continuing high unemployment rates during the 1970's are acute reminders that black females are particularly susceptible to fluctuations in the labor market and that they are very vulnerable to sex and race discrimination. Added to their chronic liabilities in the labor market are the effects of credentialism, the lack of training programs, the dearth of entry-level jobs, and the persistence of low wages in many of the jobs that might be available. In comparison with black adults whose unemployment rates, especially in the central city ghettos, have assumed crisis proportions, the employment position of black teenagers has been even worse. Estimates of unemployment rates among black teenagers and young adults range from 30 to 80 percent.

The demonstration project was designed to improve the employment possibilities of female teenagers in the Harlem area and was a test of the previous Metropolitan Applied Research Center (MARC) study. There was a gap of one year between the completion of the earlier MARC study on "Unemployment Among Black Teenage Females in Urban Poverty Neighborhoods"[1] which was directed by Phyllis A. Wallace and this study. During that year both MARC and the Northside Center for Child Development did considerable planning and preliminary recruiting. Under the direction of Mamie Phipps Clark, the Northside Center which was the proposed subcontractor was able to make substantial progress in the recruitment of the teenagers to participate in the demonstration program.

Three important changes having to do with personnel and staff organization were made during the course of the project. The first occurred before the official starting date of the project. It was learned simultaneously that Phyllis A. Wallace would not be available as chief consultant because of professional commitments at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and that Olivia P. Frost would not be able to serve full time as Assistant Director of Research. Dr. Frost continued with the project on a part-time basis. The second change, which occurred in the fall of 1973, involved the closer integration of the research and program components, including manpower information and job development activities.

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[1] Manpower Demonstration Project 41-0-004-34.

The staff members responsible for all aspects of program and of program support were placed under the direct supervision of Mamie Phipps Clark, Project Director and Sondra Johnson, Assistant Project Director.

The third significant staff modification involved the addition of three part-time senior consultants to the research staff: Richard A. Cloward of Columbia University assumed the major role of chief research consultant. Working with him were James A. Jones of Columbia University and E. David Nasatir, a research consultant, formerly with the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University. These senior consultants worked closely with the project directors and Hylan Lewis, MARC Vice President, in planning and directing all aspects of the program. Supporting staff included the following program assistants: Aurora Jose, Edith Lawrence, Brenda Mitchell, Barbara Jones-Riley, and Sharron Whitten.

In order to protect the privacy of individuals and the confidentiality of material, the names of participants in the program have been changed or eliminated, and other identifying material has been changed or eliminated.

Primary responsibility for special sections of the report is as follows: Olivia P. Frost,[1] Chapter VI, "Experimental Preconditions"; E. David Nasatir, Chapter VII, "Program Effects: Quantitative Analysis" and Chapter VIII, "Impact on Employment and Job Seeking"; and James A. Jones, Appendix A, "The Group Process: A Sociometric Analysis."

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[1] Some of the data were gathered through the use of the Frost Questionnaire administered by Dr. Frost during the first phase of the project. The questionnaire was developed by Dr. Frost for her dissertation, "A Study of the Effect of Training Upon the Level of Occupational Aspiration and Upon Attitudes Toward Work for a Group of Young Negro Men from Low-Income Families," presented to the faculty of the School of Education, Department of Human Relations, New York University, 1972, unpublished.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| | Preface | 1 |
| I. | Abstract | 9 |
| II. | Summary | 13 |
| III. | Introduction | 21 |
| IV. | Staffing and Administration | 27 |
| V. | Program and Activities | 43 |
| VI. | Experimental Preconditions | 75 |
| VII. | Program Effects: Quantitative Analysis | 85 |
| VIII. | Impact on Employment and Job Seeking | 99 |
| IX. | Impact on Educational and Career Aspirations | 109 |
| X. | Conclusions | 161 |
| XI. | Appendixes | 173 |
| | A. The Group Process: A Sociometric Analysis | 173 |
| | B. Sociometric Inventory - A | 209 |
| | C. Questionnaire: Work and Occupational Aspirations | 215 |
| | D. Questionnaire: Work and Occupational Aspirations | 225 |
| | E. Chronological Portrait of C | 245 |
| | F. Chronological Portrait of K | 249 |
| | G. Sample of Training Instruments | 257 |

# LIST OF TABLES

Table | Page

1. Selected Entry-Level Characteristics of the Study and Control Groups 36

2. Comparison of Selected Characteristics of Five Peer Groups--December 1973 44

3. Age and School Status of Participants 77

4. Level of Program Occupational Aspiration of Participants 77

5. Pre-Program Word Recognition Scores of Participants 78

6. Pre-Program Arithmetic Test Scores of Participants 79

7. Pre-Program Vocabulary Test Scores of Participants 79

8. Previous Work Experience of Participants 80

9. Distribution of Participants of Motherhood Status 81

10. Attendance at Group Sessions 82

11. Percentages of Women Who Gave Relatively Pessimistic Responses to Five Question (July 1973) Concerning Future Job Opportunities, According to Whether Enrolled for Classes in September 1973 or Not 93

12. Percentages of Women Who Gave Relatively Pessimistic Responses to Five Question (July 1973) Concerning Future Job Opportunities, Both According to Whether Had Looked for Work or Not and Whether Enrolled for Classes in September 1973 or Not 95

13. Socio-Economic Status Levels (According to the Hamburger Occupational-Rating Scale) of Last Job Obtained by Experimental and Control Group Women Between July 1973 and July 1974 101

14. Whether Employed Between July 1973 and July 1974 and Whether Found Last Job Through Northside Center or Not; by Whether In or Out of School and by Whether in Experimental or Control Group 105

## LIST OF TABLES
(Continued)

Table Page

15. Percentages of "Experimental Group" Jobholders (July 1973-July 1974) by Characteristics of Last Job, School Status and Manner of Obtaining Job 107

16. Socio-Economic Status Levels* of Ideal Occupations That Young Women Chose in July 1973, at Beginning of Program Year; by Whether in Experimental or Control Group and by Whether In or Out of School 116

17. Whether Chose an "Education-Beyond-High-School" (i.e., SES-Level 1, 2, 3) Ideal Occupation or an "High School-Only" (i.e., SES-Level 4, 5, 6) Ideal Occupation in July 1974; by Whether in Experimental or Control Group and by Whether "July 1973" Choice Had Been an SES-Level 1, 2, 3 or an SES-Level 4, 5, 6 Occupation 122

18. Whether Chose a Higher SES-, a Lower SES-, or a Same SES - Level Occupation in July 1974, Compared to July 1973; by Whether in Experimental or Control Group and by Whether "July 1973) Choice Had Been an SES-Level 1, 2, 3 or a Level 4, 5, 6 Occupation 123

19. Whether, in July 1974, Specified a Higher, a Lower or the Same Level of Required Education (for Ideal Occupation), Compared to July 1973; by Whether in E or C Group 132

20. Summary of Net Shifts from July 1973 to July 1974 in: (1) Proportions of Young Women Who Chose SES-Level 1, 2, 3 Ideal Occupations; (2) Proportions Who Replied Either "Some College," "Finish College," or "Graduate or Professional School" in Response to Educational-Requirements Questions; by Whether in E or C Group 133

21. Whether, in July 1974, Specified a Higher, a Lower, or the Same Level of Required Education (for Ideal Occupation), Compared to July 1973; by Whether in E or C Group 136

22. Verbal Recapitulation of Tendencies in the "July 1973-July 1974" Response Patterns of In-School and Out-of-School Experimental Group Women With Respect to: (1) Choices of Ideal Occupations; (2) Perceptions of Educational Requirements for I. Q.'s 137

## LIST OF TABLES
(Continued)

Table Page

23. Effects That Careers Program Had on Levels of Optimism-Pessimism Among In-School (i.e., Enrolled September 1975) Women; With Respect to Changes in Their Responses to Four Questions Concerning Future Job Opportunities 144

24A. Whether In-School (i.e., Enrolled September 1973) Women Gave More Optimistic Responses in July 1974 (Than July 1973) to 3, 2, 1 or None of the Four Questions on Future Job Opportunities; by Whether in E or C Group 148

24B. Whether In-School (i.e., Enrolled September 1973) Women Gave Less Optimistic Responses in July 1974 (Than July 1973) to 3, 2, 1 or None of the Four Questions on Future Job Opportunities; by Whether in E or C Group 148

25. Effects That Careers Program Had on Levels of Optimism-Pessimism Among Out-of-School (i.e., Enrolled September 1973) Women (Only); With Respect to Changes in Their Responses to Four Questions Concerning Future Job Opportunities 150

26A. Whether Out-of-School (i.e., Not Enrolled September 1973) Women Gave More Optimistic Responses in July 1974 (Than in July 1973) to 3, 2, 1 or None of the Four Questions on Future Job Opportunities; by Whether in E or C Group 151

26B. Whether Out-of-School (i.e., Not Enrolled September 1973) Women Gave Less Optimistic Responses in July 1974 (Than in July 1973) to 3, 2, 1 or None of the Four Questions on Future Job Opportunities; by Whether in E or C Group 151

# I. ABSTRACT

This project was a follow-up of an earlier MARC study directed by Phyllis A. Wallace and completed in June 1972: "Unemployment Among Black Teenage Females in Urban Poverty Neighborhoods" (Manpower Demonstration Project 41-0-004-34). Much of the impetus for both of the studies came from the fact that the unemployment rate for young black females was the highest of any sex and age category in the labor force. The central finding of the first study was that "peer group support and reinforcement... may be capable of altering some of the outcomes in the labor market for poor, black, young women. The labor-market-oriented peer group mechanism now needs to be tested, refined, and assessed as an intervention strategy for assisting young black women in their entry into the world of work."[1]

The purpose of the follow-up project was to demonstrate and test the effectiveness of the peer group mechanism, especially the role of peer aides and the utilization of labor market information in the job search and career plans of young black women (age 16 to 19 years) who were out of work. The peer group complex was a communications network among black female teenagers of similar backgrounds and aspirations, that was aided by staff supports and sustained by shared beliefs concerning the positive potentials of the peer group. In this complex, the peer group aides played intermediary and advocacy roles in pre-work, work, and non-work situations. Peer aides facilitated the sharing of information related to employment and to the preparation for employment. Emphasis was placed on expanding the young women's firsthand knowledge of the labor market, ways of getting a job, and career planning.

In the first part of the report, the organization and implementation of the demonstration program (the "Careers Project") under the aegis of the subcontractor, the Northside Center for Child Development are described. The second part of the report includes a description and analysis of the research that assesses the impact of the program.

At the start of the project the experimental and control groups were well matched. The experimental population consisted of 51 young black women, the control group, 52. The age range of the experimental population was from 16 to 19, the average age being 17.6. Three-quarters (76 percent) were residents of central Harlem. Slightly more than one in three (35 percent) had parents

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[1] Phyllis A. Wallace, Pathways to Work. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1974, pp. 1-2.

receiving public assistance or were receiving public assistance themselves. More than half (55 percent) had some work experience prior to joining the project; however, all were unemployed upon entry. (Being unemployed was one of the conditions of acceptance). Upon entry into the project, approximately half were out of school.

The 51 participants were distributed among five peer groups. A peer aide was assigned to each group. Each group was scheduled to meet two hours a week. Activities in addition to the formal group sessions included job search interviews; field trips; seminars and workshops; tutoring and training; cultural activities; and special group projects, including producing a newspaper.

Efforts were made to enable each young woman to find a job, as well as to develop a positive orientation to work and a career. Job search or training plans were based on individual profiles.

The experimental group's high rate of employment was largely attributable to the role that program and staff, including the peer aides, played in the job placement process. Virtually every member of the experimental group held a job at some point during the program. The project staff was directly responsible for obtaining jobs for more than one-half of the experimental group members; about one-third found jobs on their own. In contrast, scarcely more than one out of three of the control group (36 percent) became employed at least once; 85 percent of those in the experimental group held at least one job. Experimental subjects more often held full-time jobs, but their jobs were usually of much shorter duration than those held by the controls. Experimental in-schoolers tended to have jobs that were usually full time, but their jobs did not last for more than a few weeks. Control in-schoolers, when they were employed at all, usually had jobs that lasted longer, but their jobs were usually part time.

Among other things, the research and evaluation show that both school status and whether the person had ever looked for a job proved to be differentiating factors in the program effects. "In-school" and "out-of-school" people in the program tended to view job problems, education, careers, and related matters in fundamentally different ways, at least before they began to participate in the Careers Project. Likewise, those who had looked for work tended to differ importantly in their outlooks from those who had not.

A tendency to doubt that one might be able to "make it" was highly associated with being out of school. Among those still in school, most regarded the work future with hope. Persons who had not looked for work were more pessimistic about future job possibilities than the others, at least when they also happened to be out of school. Among those who were still in school, the ones who had not sought employment were no more pessimistic about their chances about future job opportunities than in-schoolers who had looked for work.

The majority of the young women recruited for the program had neither different or lower standards than the average person concerning what desirable occupations are nor had they themselves become so discouraged about their own prospects before joining the program that they could not imagine or fantasize about desirable occupations and career possibilities for themselves. The large majority had already been thinking in terms that included relatively high SES-level, middle-class jobs and careers. This pattern obtained among in-school experimentals and controls and out-of-school experimentals. Only the out-of-school controls designated more modest types of work such as secretary, sales clerk, teller, bookkeeper, or factory worker.

The program affected the beliefs held by the in-school experimental group women concerning the levels of formal education that they would need in order to be admitted to preferred occupations. It caused a larger proportion to adopt more severe educational standards for themselves compared to earlier ones and at the same time, it induced a smaller proportion to adopt less rigorous educational standards. Changes of belief about the importance of education in relation to jobs and careers apparently represented relatively limited accommodations to new realities of which the program had made them aware.

An adequate test of the effect of the peer group itself, uncontaminated by the effects of staff supports and intervention was not possible. However there were clear indications that the group process--the sharing of information, experiences and aspirations; the working through of approval and disapproval--influenced participants' job and career orientations as well as their labor market behavior. The heterogeneous nature of the groups was a beneficial factor in the group experience. During the life of the program both strangers and friends interacted with each other, helping to bring about changes in the original group structure. One of the specific ways in which the peer groups showed their effectiveness was in inducing some of the young women to take part in remedial programs designed to improve their employability as well as self-concepts. The peer group mechanism was especially effective in dealing with the intricate and sometimes subtle interplay of race, sex and age in the labor market orientations and behavior of young black women in a major metropolitan center during a period of economic recession.

## II. SUMMARY

This summary is concerned with (1) the characteristics and the experiences during the project period of the young women participants, focusing on work orientations, participation in the program, job experiences, and problems of access to the labor market; and (2) the effects of the program, focusing on jobs, education and the peer group mechanism.

### Attitudes Toward Work

Even before the demonstration program year had begun, the young black women recruited into the project exhibited the aspiration to work. Their desire to work was motivated by a variety of considerations other than their obvious and continuing need for money.

Just as the demonstration project was getting under way, participants were asked "How do you feel about having a job? Would you like to have one or not?" Ninety-four percent of all experimental and control young women answered that they wanted "very much" to have work.

The idea of being employed symbolized more to these young women than just a way of obtaining money, although money was obviously important. There were other attributes of employment which had strong appeal (e.g., prestige, self-esteem, independence). In reaction to the proposition, "A job is just a way to make money and it is better to find the easiest job that pays the most," 60 percent disagreed. And even among the 40 percent who agreed, half of them in turn did not mean literally that money was the only important attribute of all jobs. What they indicated was that a job right now was "just a way to make money: so that they could go to school and prepare for careers. Specifically, in reply to the question:

> If you had $100 clear coming in every week without working, would you
>
> ___continue working full time?
> ___continue working part-time and go to school?
> ___continue working part-time?
> ___quit working?

half of the young women who agreed that "a job is just a way to make money? also replied that they would "continue working part-time and go to school." Only four of 90 subjects chose the alternatives "quit working" or "continue working part-time."

Most participants had relatively high aspirations regarding the kinds of jobs and careers they preferred. The analysis of the data on educational and career aspirations in Chapter IX indicates

> It is that, notwithstanding the multiple disadvantages of being black, ghetto residents, females, teenagers, and so on, the majority of young women recruited for the program neither had different or lower standards, concerning what "desirable" occupations are, from those held by most people within the larger American society; nor had they themselves been so discouraged or unhopeful about their own prospects, before joining the program, as noted even to have permitted themselves to fantasize about their desirable occupations as career possibilities for themselves.

## Participation in the Program

The demonstration program was notably successful in retaining high levels of participation. Of the 51 young women in the experimental group, 30 percent attended two-thirds or more of the peer group meetings, seminars, and field trips conducted throughout the year; 54 percent attended at least half of the sessions. And the fact that a number of the participants were employed at any given time is one important reason why the attendance rates were not higher still.

Furthermore, most participants felt quite positive about the training experience. They did not express the disillusionment so often reported among participants in other training programs. For example, this question, among others, was asked of the participants in the experimental group at the close of the project:

> Thinking back over your experiences in the Careers Project this past year, do you think you got much out of the program, everything considered, or not?
>
> ___got a lot
> ___got something, a good amount
> ___didn't get much
> ___got nothing at all

Ninety-four percent of the respondents answered either that they "got a lot" (64 percent) or that they "got something, a good amount" (30 percent).

## Job Experiences

Virtually every member (more than four out of five) of the experimental group held a job at some point during the program year. More than half of the participants (53 percent) obtained jobs with the direct assistance of staff, and one-third (32 percent) of the experimental group found jobs on their own. Whereas more than eight in ten (85 percent) of those in the experimental group held at least one job during the program period, slightly more than one-third (36 percent) of the control group held at least one job during the program year.

Experimental group young women more often had full-time employment. More than three out of four of the employed experimental group had "30 hours-plus" jobs compared to just over half of the jobholders in the control group.

Among in-school women there was a greater tendency toward jobs lasting relatively short periods. Experimental in-schoolers tended to have jobs that were usually full-time ones, but their jobs usually did not last for more than a few weeks at a span. Control group in-schoolers, when they were employed at all, usually had jobs that lasted longer, but their jobs entailed only part-time work each week. A comparison of job type differences for the out-of-school is not feasible because so few (only three) of the out-of-school in the control group managed to become employed.

### Gaining Access to the Labor Market

Access to the labor market is affected by a number of factors, including age, school, status, parental status, financial problems, and racial problems.

Age.--Those organizations seeking employees, more often than not, were interested in young women aged 18 and over with high school diplomas. This was a particular handicap inasmuch as the majority of the young women in the program were 17 years old. Those 18 and over tended not to have the educational requirements. The staff had its greatest success in locating jobs for the participants who were older and who were high school graduates. On one occasion, for example, seven participants were tested for a job: Six of them passed, and the oldest two were hired. The member who scored highest was sixteen years of age.

In-school problems.--Fifty percent of the participants were in school. That being so, they were interested in locating part-time jobs. This proved to be difficult, although it was more difficult for some than for others. The vast majority of part-time jobs were obtained by participants with typing skills. Excellent mathematics and science students were unable to secure part-time jobs.

Dropouts.--The school dropouts were the most difficult to place and sustain in the labor market. Entry was difficult because most companies specified "high school graduates." Those who did enter the market did not remain for any length of time--usually three to eight weeks. One participant hired as a cashier lacked the mathematics skills to maintain the job; consequently she was terminated. At that point, she returned to school. Some dropouts lacked a desire to work. Being aware of their poor status in the labor market and having experienced failure, these young women had given up hope.

Child care.--Teenage parents usually found it difficult to enter the labor market because of the problem of child care. A company will not invest time and money in a short-term employee--such as an expecting mother, or women with children less than three years of age. Day care centers generally cater to three- to six-year olds, not to younger children. Teenagers are often not aware of child care resources other than those provided by their parents or by other members of their immediate families. But the parents are often employed. It was found in a number of instances that grandparents were unwilling to accept the responsibility of caring for their grandchildren. Relatives, too, were often not willing to assume responsibility for caring for a young child. The teenage mother cannot pay a babysitter because of the extraordinarily low wages she earns. As a result, her chances of entering the labor market are almost nil.

Racial problems.--Some of the participants feared racial discrimination and thought they had encountered it in particular situations. For example, M.S. attends a special academic school for students who have shown excellence in mathematics and science. She was interviewed by a recruiter in a large company who was very impressed with her as a result of the interview. The recruiter arranged for M.S. to be interviewed by the head of the accounting department. She was subsequently interviewed, but was not hired. M.S. stated, "He didn't give me a chance to say anything; he didn't want to talk to me. He told me only negative things about the department and suggested that I would be happier elsewhere." Needless to say, M.S. was disappointed. Even in her despair, however, she did not want to attribute the incident to racial discrimination, thought she felt this was the reason. She merely stated, "I don't know whether he is prejudiced or not, but I know he does not want me to work for him." It was later learned that the daughter of a white employee was hired for the position.

Financial problems.--Every participant did not seek employment. There were those who came from financially better off families. Employment, therefore, was not an urgent necessity. Others chose to devote their time to studies. Still others wanted to work but could not for financial reasons. They were hampered from seeking jobs simply because they lacked the "proper" clothes for an interview and/or carfare to get there. Even after obtaining a job, some of the participants found it necessary to come to the program for funds to get to work. This is but one of the myriad ways in which institutional support was crucial to the successful labor market performance of so many of the young women.

## Program Effects and Job Success

A central conclusion of the study is that the success of the Careers Project was a direct consequence of its ability to locate jobs for the participants. Except for that effect, it is doubtful that other positive results--planning by out-of-school teenagers to return to school--would have occurred.

It has been indicated that most of the young women who came into the program came in with horizons apparently as wide and aspirations about as high as those of young people generally in the United States. This meant that the widening of horizons or the raising of aspirations was not a critical need or concern.

One respect in which the program appeared to have been most effective was in changing of the perceptions of reality of the experimental group members--their understandings of the nature of the occupations they were thinking of trying to enter and the requirements they would need to satisfy in order to develop careers in such occupations.

Rather marked contrasts between the ways the in-school and out-of-school women reacted to their experiences in the program were a constant and recurring feature:

(a) In-school women tended, as a group, to be both relatively optimistic about their future prospects and were achievement-oriented to begin with. For them, the program appeared to have been chiefly important in reconfirming original tendencies or dispositions, by reinforcing morale, giving encouragement, and enlarging stores of detailed information about occupations.

(b) For out-of-school women, the program's contribution was more complex. It did not have the effect of encouraging them on balance to become more hopeful about their future opportunities than at the beginning; nor did it cause them to become less so. It did cause them to lower their sights somewhat and think in terms of trying for careers in occupations that would be less difficult for them to enter than those they had preferred at the outset.

The fact that the demonstration project was successful in retaining participants and eliciting favorable responses to the training and other supports it offered was related to the fact that project staff was directly responsible for obtaining jobs for more than one-half of the participants.

Given the recessionary labor market, it was necessary for the staff to play an extremely active role in searching out and developing job openings. Under different economic conditions, the project's role might have been limited more to supporting the peer group's development in assisting its individual members to move out on their own. The first five months did indicate that group members were able to look for jobs on their own, once they had been provided with some basic leads and the supportive interest of the group. With jobs plentiful, a manpower unit might then concentrate its efforts on creating education and training programs, as well as on helping members develop a career perspective. But, in view of the depressed economic conditions which prevailed during the course of the project, it was necessary for the staff to play an aggressive role in the labor market.

This situation not only helped to buttress aspirations and expectations regarding the potentials of the world of work, but it gave the Careers Project itself an enormous degree of credibility in the eyes of the participants. The project was effective in delivering on a perceived promise of employment. Because of its credibility the project remained in a position to influence participants in other ways, noticeably with reference to the resumption of education.

## Resumption of Education

A number of the participants in the demonstration program had either dropped out of high school or had no plans for pursueing education beyond high school. One objective of the project was to stress the importance of education and to encourage the participants to obtain better credentials. Two of the findings reported in Chapter IX bear directly on the project's success in this realm.

The first finding was that the Careers Project successfully influenced a number of out-of-schoolers to formalize plans to return to school. Fifty-eight percent of the twelve out-of-schoolers in the experimental group developed such intentions, but only 27 percent of the eleven who were out of school in the control group did so.

This finding is linked to a second one. The tendency for a greater number of experimental women to want to return to school was associated with the growth of optimism on their part with the chances for blacks in the occupational world. For example, respondents were asked how they felt about the following proposition at both the beginning and end of the project:

> In this country most people do not want to see blacks move up to better jobs.

As measured by this type of question, experimentals who were out-of-school were much more likely to develop greater optimism over the course of the program year than comparable controls (eight out of twelve, compared with two out of eleven). Apparently, then, the growth of optimism with respect to the chances of blacks to have a decent occupational life was a determinant of the more frequent readiness of experimental group members to return to school in pursuit of concrete occupational goals.

## Peer Group Mechanism

As noted earlier, it was not possible to obtain an adequate test in this demonstration project of the effectiveness of the peer group itself. Such a test could only have been obtained if the project staff had not intervened in the labor market on behalf of the participants. Then one could have observed the uncontaminated impact of the peer process on labor market performance.

Still, it is our distinct feeling that the peer process is a valuable tool in preparing young people for labor market entry. There were repeated instances, as revealed by those who led, observed and recorded the group meetings, in which the group process--the sharing, the working through of approval and/or disapproval--influenced a member's immediate or subsequent behavior.

The participants were also able to pinpoint positive personal change as a result of being members of the groups. They were well aware of the project's goals, as indicated by their responses to the question: "If someone were to ask you what this program was about, what would you tell them?" They repeatedly responded that they felt a need for a place where they could be heard, could listen and could work out their problems. These problems were similar to those with which most young people must grapple as they strive to find meaning in their lives. The constructive and supportive program allowed them to seek informed and healthy solutions. The rewards of this particular dimension of the program seemed as essential to many as those of finding a job. This is suggested in the following statement of a participant.

> I would tell them that this program helps you to prepare to go out into the business world. It doesn't exactly give you...any formal courses, but it gives you helpful hints on how to go about getting jobs...at our meetings we discuss current events and also give our views on things that young ladies of our culture and background should know. Like knowing enough not to be let down so easily, but to keep on truckin.

We are further convinced that the heterogeneous nature of the groups was a beneficial force in the group experience. The variety of situations and experiences which young women brought to the group opened up to all of them the range of alternatives and solutions possible when making decisions and choices, especially when the basic elements of the problem were the same. For example, in the homogeneous grouping, those who had dropped out of school would have found themselves with others who had followed the same path and they might have provided support for that decision. The burden of presenting another life style involving academic achievement would then have fallen to the peer aide alone. In the heterogeneous group, by contrast, various styles are available and various methods of coping with the frustrations of school can be discussed. Advice so given was rarely seen as a criticism. In the recorded observations of the participant observer, the ability of these young women to discuss their concerns frankly, to obtain the group's attention, and to gain and act upon advice was evidence of the effect of the peer group process. Advice came from and was received by them, and they were exposed to widely disparate experiences in these groups.

It is also our conclusion that the ease with which we attracted young women and maintained their interest had much to do with the relaxed and open manner with which the peer aides, consisting of young women very much like the group members themselves, presented and conducted the program. They were warm and accepting of the participants, mirroring their own youth, enthusiasm, and energy.

The sociometric analysis of the peer group process indicates that the initial group structure was partly reflective of the fact that some preexisting friendships were partially used to assign participants to the five peer groups. During the life of the program both strangers and friends interacted with each other, helping to bring about changes in the beginning group structure. These changes manifested themselves in the cohesion which the groups developed, the changes in the number and composition of cliques, and the changes in roles that the group members played.

## Peer Process and Remediation

One of the quite specific ways in which the peer groups demonstrated their utility was with respect to inducing the young women to join in remedial programs.

Participants freely admitted educational deficiencies in group sessions where others were doing the same. Skills workshops established midway in the program year were probably successful because of the group dimension. The highly verbal nature of the group process tended to encourage participation and the acceptance of remediation.

Those participants assigned to the summer tutorial program received the most extensive and intensive remedial help. They received considerable remediation simply by virtue of being prepared to serve as tutors.

## III. INTRODUCTION

This project was a follow-up of an earlier MARC study of "Unemployment Among Black Teenage Females in Urban Poverty Neighborhoods" (Manpower Demonstration Project 41-0-004-34), which was directed by Phyllis A. Wallace and completed in June 1972.[1] Much of the impetus for both of these studies came from the fact that the unemployment rate for black teenage females has continued to be the highest of any sex and age category in the labor force. "Since 1971, the rate for black teens has been exceeding 30 percent and has been roughly two-and-one-half times as high as the rate for white teens. In the fourth quarter of 1974 the black/white rate ratio for this group stood at 2.4."[2] The unemployment rate for black female teenagers has been consistently higher than the rate for black male teenagers. During the period of this project, employment opportunities for black female teenagers declined even further as national unemployment rates rose.

Herrington J. Bryce of the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington, D. C. recently wrote that "The rate of unemployment among black teenagers has risen by an astronomical 43 percent over the last year."[3] Further, the figures have seriously underestimated the gravity of the problem:

> Black teenagers are accelerating the pace at which they leave the labor force. Between 1973 and 1974 alone, the number of black teenagers who left the labor force in disgust and convinced that they could not find jobs more than doubled. These discouraged youths are not counted among the unemployed.[4]

The labor force statistics have failed to provide the particularly unfavorable employment situation confronting minority teenagers who are women. In an assessment of high black teenage unemployment and the implications of high unemployment among young black women, Herrington Bryce pointed out:

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[1] See also Phyllis A. Wallace, Pathways to Work. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1974.

[2] Paul O. Flaim, Thomas F. Bradshaw, and Curtis L. Gilroy. "Employment and Unemployment in 1974," Monthly Review, p. 12.

[3] Herrington J. Bryce, "The Crisis in Black Teen-Age Unemployment," Washington Post, March 12, 1975.

[4] Ibid.

The unfortunate part about all this is that we have consistently belittled the problem of high black teenage unemployment. The argument persisted that teenage unemployment was not all that important. It was the male head of the household who was important. The error in this chauvinism is that nearly 34 percent of black families as compared to 10 percent of white families are with a female head and this fact is especially poignant with poor black families; 64 percent are female-headed.

The point is that black teenagers contribute significantly to the earnings of their families. While their median income is just over $600 per year, this is just under one-tenth of the income of the average black family. Such a proportion is critical in low-income black families. Furthermore, 20 percent of low-income black families have more than one wage earner. Who are these other earners? Many are teenagers.

The situation is substantially different among white low-income families. Poverty in this group relates more to the elderly than it does among blacks where poverty is the plight of people who have children. It is not only in respect to their contribution to family income that black teenagers' work is important, but also with respect to their future. Teenage employment provides work experience, it provides an early opportunity to select professions, to develop proper work attitudes, and to obtain an exposure to new friends. Little wonder that we find that after years of being beaten around in the labor force, blacks develop high labor market turnover rates. We destroy proper work attitudes at the outset.

* * *

The sad reality of black teenage life is that it lacks visible alternatives. White teenagers also leave the labor force. But they have some place to go. They are enrolling in colleges and in the military in increasing numbers. Many go home to parents who are not economically strapped.

Unfortunately, as the teenage unemployment rate rises, blacks will have to compete more intensely for entrance into colleges which is a new-found hope.[1]

The eighteen months between June 15, 1973 and December 15,

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[1] _Ibid_.

1974 during which the follow-up project was conducted was a period marked by a continuation and, in some respects a worsening of the labor market conditions in the New York City area.

The "1973 Year-End Report on Employment, Prices, and Earnings in New York City" concluded that

> New York City was more significantly impacted by the 1970 recession than the rest of the New York-Northeastern New Jersey area or the Nation as a whole, and had substantial job losses during the subsequent national recovery period. During 1970 and 1971, New York City lost 188,000 jobs, an employment loss of 5 percent. In contrast, nationally the recession brought the employment growth of the 1960's to a virtual halt, but no job losses occurred. In the rest of the New York-Northeastern New Jersey area, while employment dropped 0.5 percent in 1971, an employment rise of 1.2 percent in 1970 kept the job total above the 1969 average level. New York City's 257,000 job loss since 1969 contrasted with a national employment growth of 5 million, and a 139,000 rise in the New York-Northeastern New Jersey area outside the City over the same period of time.[1]

Although youths constituted one in six of New York City's employed and more than one in five of the city's labor force, they constituted two in five of the unemployed in 1973.[2]

In the context of these significant changes, the unemployment rate of blacks continued to be appallingly high, especially among black teenagers. The declining teenage participation rate for New York City was 33.3 percent in 1973, a figure significantly lower than the more than 50 percent participation rate for teenagers in the United States.

The earlier study by MARC of unemployment among black female teenagers "demonstrated that it is possible to provide resources to enable these young women to enter and to take continuous steps to remain in the labor market.[3] Its central finding was that "peer group support and reinforcement operate in strong and positive ways to counteract some of the negative influences from the community and the home. The participatory model that evolved from the small group sessions may be capable of altering some of the outcomes in the labor market for poor, black, young women. The labor-market-oriented peer group mechanism now needs to be tested, refined, and assessed as an intervention strategy for assisting young black women in their entry into the world of work."[1]

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[1] U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. "1973 Year-End Report on Employment, Prices, and Earnings in New York City," Regional Labor Statistics Bulletin, Number 35, January 1973.

[2] U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Some Facts Relating to Youth in the New York City Labor Market." August 1974, pp. 10-11.

[3] Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

The follow-up project was the result of collaboration between the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc., and the Northside Center for Child Development, Inc. The purpose was to demonstrate and test the effectiveness of the peer aide mechanism of assisting young black women in their efforts to enter the world of work. The teenage peer group (age 16 to 19 years) was identified as playing "a powerful role in influencing work attitudes and changing work behavior of this teenage out-of-school/out-of-work population."[2]

It was emphasized that "programs designed for this group are likely to have a better chance of success if they are integrated into the activities of the peer group."[3] The program activities and the related research of the follow-up demonstration and test were focused on the peer group mechanism, especially the role of the peer aides and the utilization of labor market information in the development of job search and career plans.

The peer group complex included (1) a communication network among black female teenagers of similar backgrounds and aspirations; (2) staff supports that facilitate peer interaction; and (3) shared beliefs concerning the supportive functions of the peer group.

The peer group aides were seen as playing a major role in the functioning and guidance of the peer groups: they were to play intermediary and advocacy roles in a variety of pre-work, work and non-work situations. It was thought that there would be advantages in using young women who were college students as peer aides because they would serve as role models: it was thought that their achievements and the self-confidence gained in working as peer aides would have positive effects for themselves as well as for the young women with whom they would be working. The peer aides were to facilitate the sharing of information related to employment and the preparation for employment. Emphasis was to be placed on expanding firsthand knowledge of the labor market, ways of getting a job, and career planning among the young women.

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[1] Wallace, op.cit., pp. 1-2.
[2] Ibid., p. 3.
[3] Ibid., p. 3

The original specific aims included (1) the recruitment of 80 to 120 black female adolescents; (2) the transformation of 40 to 60 young women into a peer group (or groups) oriented to challenging the competitive job market; (3) the identification and measurement of changes in a comparable group of young women which would serve as a control group; and (4) the comparison of changes in work-related behavior and attitudes in the demonstration (experimental) group with changes in the control group.

In keeping with the original objectives, it was necessary to satisfy three conditions: First, the experimental and control groups had to be comparable. Second, the program had to be sufficiently attractive to sustain reasonable levels of attendance, for otherwise it would not be possible to say that the experimental group was exposed to the peer group mechanism (that is, the peer group, the peer aides, and the experimental processes). Finally, the demonstration program itself had to be executed as planned so that the experimental variable could be said to have existed.

The body of this report is divided into two major parts: In the first part, the organization and execution of the demonstration program under the aegis of the Northside Center for Child Development are described. Northside Center carried out this part of the project under a subcontract, and used the term "Careers Project" to describe this component. The second part of this report provides a description and analysis of the research undertaken in order to evaluate the impact of the program.

## IV. STAFFING AND ADMINISTRATION

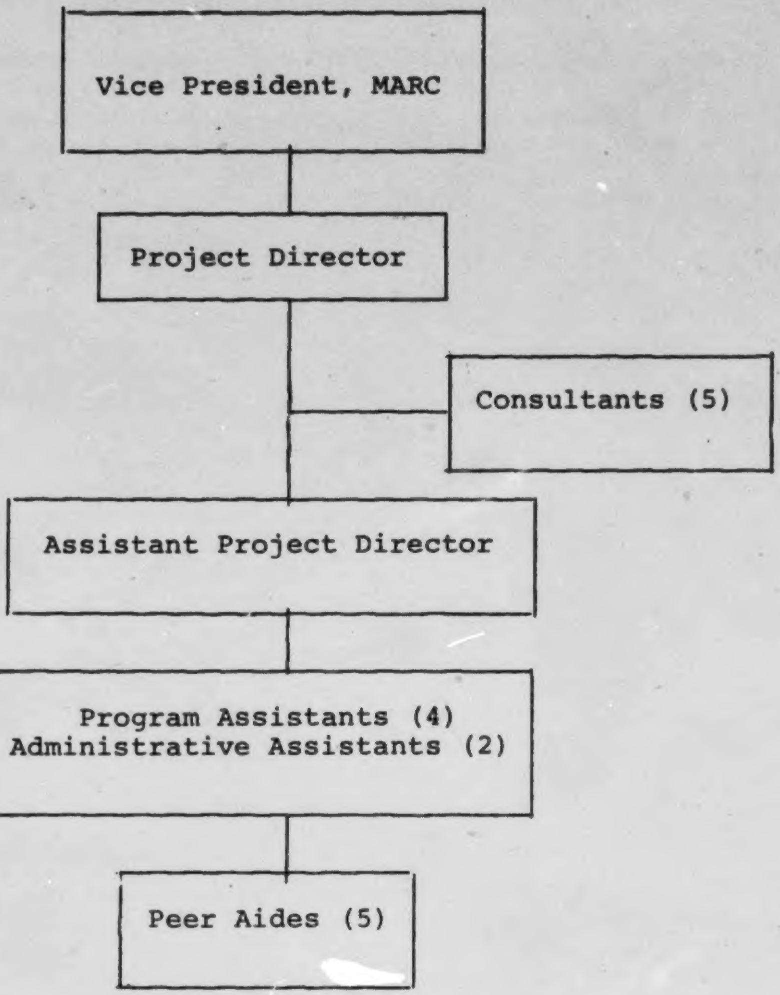
The Northside Center for Child Development was invited to collaborate with MARC and to assume specific responsibility for the development, support and monitoring of the peer group mechanism. MARC assumed specific responsibility for research and evaluation in addition to its original responsibility for overall policy and administration. Under terms of a subcontract, Northside Center employed and trained a program staff, including the peer aides and supervisory personnel. This staff both recruited the participants who became members of the peer group network and identified the control group. MARC employed and coordinated the work of the staff associates and assistants who had responsibility for research and for the development of labor market information.

During the first stage of the project the organization and deployment of staff went through several changes. Phyllis A. Wallace, the director of the previous study, had initiated and coordinated the planning for the follow-up demonstration project, and it was anticipated that she would be able to continue to play a major role in guiding the project as senior consultant, while carrying out her duties in her new post at the Sloan School of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. It was envisioned that the leadership and direction of the project would be provided by a group with close working relationships consisting of Mamie Phipps Clark, Director of Northside Center and a psychologist, Project Director; Phyllis A. Wallace, Professor of Economics, M.I.T. and MARC senior associate, Project Consultant; and Olivia P. Frost, a sociologist with considerable relevant research and counseling experience, Assistant Project Director for Research.

On the eve of the official start of the project, it was learned (1) that Dr. Wallace would have to withdraw from participation in the project because of professional commitments at M.I.T., and (2) that Dr. Frost would not be able to provide full-time services to the project. These simultaneous developments created the possibilities of the loss of experienced senior staff support and of the loss of valued continuity between the projects. These developments, however, were adjusted immediately in a number of ways, including the assignment of a more active role in project planning and coordination to Hylan Lewis, MARC Vice President, and the development of program and research staff, involving the use of part-time professional staff and consultants. During the latter half of the project, Richard A. Cloward served as a continuing consultant for research. He assumed direct responsibility for planning and supervising the research and analysis. These changes had the effect of assembling a staff consisting of people who were less specialized, more integrated, and more centrally supervised than that described in the original design.

## CHART OF ORGANIZATION

## July 1974


Vice President, MARC
Project Director
Consultants (5)
Assistant Project Director
Program Assistants (4)
Administrative Assistants (2)
Peer Aides (5)

In the early planning, provision was made for coordinating the program staff located at Northside Center and the staff responsible for research and labor market information at MARC. The recruitment of staff and the organization and meshing of the program and research components were affected by two early circumstances: (1) the prolonged period of waiting for grant approval; (2) the major changes in project leadership and key personnel on the eve of starting the project.

These developments necessitated adjustment in the staff and direction of the project at the very beginning. Early on, it became not only necessary, but desirable to emphasize that the combined staff was to work as a unit. It was thought that the small staff might be more efficient if it were developed as a team responsible for a variety of program and research functions--including developing and monitoring the peer groups and providing labor market information and program supports. Under this plan the Vice President of MARC and the Project Director were responsible for the overall planning and supervision of the project and the coordination of the efforts of the consultants and staff who were responsible for program and research.

## Recruitment of Study and Comparison Groups

In January 1973 the Northside Center for Child Development began its efforts to obtain a pool from which to draw a sample for the demonstration group and a sample for the control group (it is important to note that recruitment of participants in the project and of potential staff, including peer aides, began six months before actual funding was available). The pool was to include young women between the ages of 16 and 19 years who were not working and who were interested in obtaining work.

It was necessary at the beginning to recruit a pool from which the two groups could be selected so that pre-test and post-test comparisons could be made. A comprehensive survey of sources for recruitment within one of the largest urban communities and labor markets in the country was undertaken.

From January to April the peer aides and the Assistant Director visited numerous organizations for purposes of informing them of the project and of obtaining names of prospects. Included in these agencies were: WE CARE, Adolescent Maternity Program, Harlem Teams for Self-Help, the School for Continuing Education, Afro-East Youth Enrichment Program, Brandeis High School, Louise Wise Services, Polo Grounds Social Service Team, and the School for Continued Secondary Education. Contacts were made with prospective participants by telephone call, letter, word-of-mouth, and direct conversation. Actual selection did not occur until the assistant director or the peer aides interviewed the candidates. Approximately two hundred women were recruited and interviewed during the four-month period.

By early in June, 124 participants had been recruited as a result of activities and recruiting efforts made in the community over a period of six months. Analysis of the school status of the first pool of young women revealed that 114 were in school and ten out of school. Fifteen-year-olds were included in the pool at first because their sixteenth birthdays would have occurred within six months from the recruitment date. After a review, these youngest applicants, as well as students in the ninth and tenth grades, were eliminated from the pool. Renewed efforts were made to obtain a better balance between in-school and out-of-school participants. Community groups and social agencies were visited again in order to secure candidates for the project who were high-school dropouts. This second effort resulted in a better balance in the proportions of those in school and out of school.

|  | In School | Out of School | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Number recruited in first pool | 114 | 10 | 124 |
| Number recruited for adjusted pool | 66 | 37 | 103 |

In assessing the recruitment process, the staff reported that (1) letters to agencies and groups were not effective; (2) community school boards were the least responsive and consistent of the agencies contacted; (3) it was frequently necessary to make two or more visits to agencies in order to inform them about the demonstration program and to establish contact with the candidates; (4) the agencies that were most responsive saw the proposed employment program as a service complementing their own work and as representing a promise of financial assistance for young women and families in severe financial straits; (5) a significant number of Puerto Ricans were attracted to the program; (6) the peer group aides were particularly effective in one-to-one relationships during the recruitment phase.[1]

Early in June, the peer aides summarized their experiences in recruiting young women for the project:

> We consider the process of recruitment a valuable, enlightening and successful experience. Before going

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[1] Originally the title of "peer counselor" was given to the five group leaders recruited by Northside Center for what was called the Careers Project. The title of "peer counselor" was soon changed to that of "peer aide," which was the designation used in the original proposal. The change alleviated some of the anxieties of the peer aides about their responsibilities to the girls, since they had interpreted the term counselor as a person with professional training in counseling which they did not possess.

into the community it was necessary for the counselors to become completely aware of what the program was about. After several visits to MARC and readings of the 1969 study, some of the problems which we thought might develop were discussed. Ideas were interchanged and recruitment commenced.

When starting out, we, the peer counselors, had no conception of what awaited us in the field. Questions such as how would the persons we would be approaching and probably working with accept us; what would they think of us and could we really sell the project to them. Questions like these and others were some of our main concerns. Also, we felt it necessary for us to become completely aware of what the program would be and what it would have to offer. It would be unwise to try to offer a program that we, ourselves, did not completely understand.

When the understanding of the Careers Project was clear, our next objective was to start introducing our project to various community organizations. Fliers and letters were drafted and sent....

The responses from the organization were very favorable in most cases. Enthusiasm was expressed about supporting a project designed to help "Our Girls." Some wanted "Our Boys" in the program. Organizations sent lists of referrals and the girls that qualified were called on the telephone. If that was not possible, the girls were sent letters. As a further follow-up, one of the counselors made home visits. The responses from the girls were positive--they were ready to get into something, just as we were ready to help them have "a chance to be."

We called the recruitment process "a chance to be." We chose this title because we realized that some girls leave a lot to chance. Many girls have high aspirations, but since they never get the information on how, or opportunity to get started, they never try. Our program was offering that chance to be.

The early meetings lessened our apprehensions greatly. Not only our fears about the organizations and people with whom we will work, but fears about ourselves and our capabilities to sell the project lessened. We hope that this type of progress continues and that this year will prove to be a fruitful one, for everyone concerned with the Careers Project Program.

> All in all...it has been an enlightening experience....
> We all wait anxiously now to begin working with our
> girls.

Many high school students responded because they thought that "unemployed" was meant to refer to a person who was not working, but interested in part-time after-school jobs, in temporary summer or holiday jobs, and in careers. The name used for the program component, Careers Project, helped highlight the career feature. Staff thought that an expressed interest in work justified inclusion of in-school adolescents in the project. Characteristically, those who were out of school were interested in regular and permanent jobs and in careers as well as in temporary and seasonal jobs.

Those who were recruited for the pool were given tests at three group sessions during the preparatory phase between May and August. Each participant was assigned a code number according to the date of her recruitment.

The choices of persons for the demonstration group and for the control group were made following the administration of the pre-test series; a stratified random sampling procedure was used to make seletions. The data sheets containing information on age, educational status, marital status, and the source of referral to the project were prepared. These were identified by each person's code number.

The data sheets were first sorted by single years--16 through 19 years. Those in each age group were classified by school status and grade in school. Listings for each group were made according to the numerical order of their code numbers. Assignments to experimental group and to control group were made on an alternate basis. When persons were eliminated from one of the groups, because of getting a summer job, for example, replacements were drawn from a reserve control group composed of those not assigned to either group. In order to provide a better balance between the numbers of in-school and out-of-school participants, those who were in school were selected on the basis of every second code number.

According to an assessment by the staff of the early testing sessions, the difficulty of testing was increased because they were concerned with the anticipated anti-test feelings of the subjects as well as with the selection of instruments which would be of use in evaluating the program. The tests finally selected were:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1) | WRAT (Wide Range Achievement Tests) | | |
| | (1) Mathematics | 10 mins. | |
| | (2) Word Recognition | 7 " | |
| 2) | Cooperative English (Reading Comprehension) | 25 " | |
| 3) | Able Vocabulary, Level II | 14 " | |
| 4) | Reading Comprehension (Designed by staff) | 20 " | |
| | Total Time | | 76 mins. |
| 5) | Frost Questionnaire on Work and Occupational Aspirations | 30 " | |
| 6) | Minnesota Counseling Inventory | 60 " | |
| | Untimed | | 90 mins. |

Observations made by staff and aides concerning the tests and the initial testing experience indicated that testing went rather smoothly after adjustments were made in order of administration of tests. The cooperative English test proved to be the most difficult of the tests.[1]

At least half of all those invited appeared for testing.[2] Of 124 tested, only ten were out of school. This necessitated additional testing dates and a renewed effort to locate people who were out of school to recruit for the program. The additional testing was conducted over a period of one month (June 11-July 11) for a total of 50 more participants. From the additional 50 tested, 35 out-of-school subjects (identified as either high school graduates, evening school attendees and school dropouts) were obtained. Some of these were referred to the project by new sources, such as Big Sisters, Inc., the Brandeis High School Annex office of attendance. Most, however, were referred by sources with which there had already been contact. At the conclusion of this effort, the project had succeeded in testing 174 young women out of the 293 eligibles initially contacted.

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[1] Included in the base line data collected at the beginning of the project were measures of academic level skills in mathematics, English and reading; and the results of the Frost Questionnaire and the Minnesota Counseling Inventory.

[2] Staff and peer aides made special intensive efforts to reach the people who did not appear for initial testing. These efforts included repeated telephone calls, visits and the use of a station wagon to provide transportation. Several people were scheduled numerous times for testing. No systematic efforts were made to study the population that did not appear for initial testing or to ascertain the reasons for the failure of many to appear; however, a wide range of difficulties and experiences were reported as interfering with their coming, such as "she forgot," "she went to the store," "she went to the laundry," "she went to the park with the children," and "she went looking for jobs."

* * *

No systematic study was made of the reasons why relatively few out-of-schoolers responded to the recruitment process. For one thing, sufficient resources were lacking to develop and pursue the variety of methods necessary to accomplish this. These observations might be made, however.

1. it is probable that young women for whom education is a primary goal are more willing to commit themselves to training as well as to part-time work; students in school, interested in part-time jobs, tended to be more readily available and in some instances even assisted in the recruiting of schoolmates or similarly situated acquaintances;

2. enrollment in school is not necessarily synonymous with attendance in school. In tight labor markets the percentage of persons enrolled in school rises in proportion to the unemployment rate; therefore some unknown amount of school enrollment may reflect despair in finding a job as much as belief in the educational system;

3. the great majority of young people are in school during the teen ages, with attendance being larger in the younger age categories. Not enough is known about older adolescents who are neither in the labor market nor in school;

4. an unknown number of young women with family responsibilities may have dropped out of the labor market and sought the alternative of public assistance. In addition, drastic cuts in social welfare programs, coupled with the increasingly selective procedures in training programs, meant that there were fewer agencies to serve as accurate referral sources for out-of-school adolescents;

5. it is likely that more of the older teenagers sought independence by leaving their families and establishing relationships in other households. This increased the difficulty of finding and maintaining contact;

6. the following impediments or deterrents were built into the demonstration program as it was structured and evolved: (a) the program could not and would not guarantee jobs, a high priority for the out-of-school young women seeking assistance or guidance, (b) during the recruitment period it was not possible to guarantee a place within the program, thus making the perception of possible rejection or failure a factor, (c) the $5.00 weekly stipend was probably less appealing to out-of-school young women whose financial needs were likely to be greater than those of in-school participants, (d) the program could not offer what many of the young women needed to compete in a tight labor market; that is, vocational skills such as typing, shorthand, filing, etc. The program had no power to guarantee training program opportunities. Since the program offered only supportive services to aid entry into the labor market, the participant had to be relatively optimistic and willing to commit time to an experimental demonstration program.

If young women did not appear for the initial testing session, attempts were made to follow up through the referral source. Experience indicated that the probability of continuing was poorest for those young women who attended orientation sessions but did not appear for the initial testing session.

## Composition and Characteristics

There were 51 young women in the demonstration population; each of these was assigned to one of five groups; a peer aide was assigned to each group. At entry level there were 52 young women in the control group. Table 1 gives selected characteristics of the two groups at entry level.

Some characteristics of the demonstration population:

- The age range of the study population was from 16 to 19.
- The average age was 17.6.
- Three quarters (76%) were residents of central Harlem.
- Slightly more than one in three (35%) had parents receiving public assistance or were receiving public assistance themselves.
- At the beginning of the project one in three (31%) of the young women had a child; during the first six months of the program five new births occurred.
- More than half of the study population (55%) had some work experience prior to joining the project; however, all were unemployed upon entry. Being unemployed was one of the conditions of acceptance.
- Upon entry into the project, there were 26 who were out of school and 25 who were in school. Although a few of the dropouts returned to school and two of the

## TABLE 1

### Selected Entry-Level Characteristics of the Study and Control Groups

| | | Experimental=51 | Control=52 |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Age** | | | |
| 15 years | | 5 | 5 |
| 16 " | | 15 | 12 |
| 17 " | | 14 | 15 |
| 18 " | | 13 | 12 |
| 19 " | | 4 | 8 |
| 20 " | | 0 | 0 |
| **School Status** | | | |
| Out | High School Graduates | 5 | 6 |
| | Dropouts | 21 | 20 |
| | Total out of school | 26 | 26 |
| In | 11th grade | 7 | 7 |
| | 12th grade | 17 | 18 |
| | Evening School | 1 | 1 |
| | Total in school | 25 | 26 |
| **Number of Children** | | 14 | 18 |
| Number with one child | | 14 | 12 |
| Number with two children | | 0 | 3 |
| **Receipt of Public Assistance by Individual or Family** | | | |
| Not receiving | | 31 | 22 |
| Receiving | | 18 | 27 |
| Unknown | | 2 | 3 |
| **Work Experience Prior to Entry** | | | |
| With work experience | | 30 | 33 |
| Without work experience | | 19 | 19 |
| Unknown | | 2 | 0 |

high school graduates went on to college, an equal number of in-school women dropped out.

At the start of the project the study and the control groups were, on the whole, very well matched.

There was no appreciable difference in the number of people in each age group with the exception of the 16-year-old group in which there were, upon entry, 15 who were 16 years old in the study group and 12 in the control group.

In the school status category, the two groups were matched evenly with regard to the number of in- and out-of-school participants: 26 out-of-schoolers in both groups, 25 and 26 in-schoolers in the study and control groups, respectively.

Overall, the control group had four more babies than the study group, due perhaps to the fact that there were three control women who had more than one baby.

The groups were well matched in the two categories, Receipt of Public Assistance and Work Experience Prior to Entry. (See Chapter VI for a more comprehensive statistical comparison of the experimental and control groups.)

At the time of recruitment 14 of the women in the experimental group had children and three others were in advanced stages of pregnancy. Thus, slightly more than one in three of those in the experimental group were either mothers or expectant mothers.

The fact that significant proportions of the population were unemployed, out of school and teenage mothers, and that many individuals were all three, was predictive of a high-risk, problem-prone population; however, it did not mean that it was a group without significant strengths and potential and actual resources for change.

The following two excerpts from staff documents describing some of the family and background characteristics of two of the participants are suggestive of the complexities and social risks that marked the lives of many of the young women.

> At the time she entered the program, B and her daughter U, were living with her mother, brother, sister N and her child, in a five-room apartment. B's mother was making arrangements to return to a southern state to live, leaving B, her sister N, and their two children to stay on in New York. Not only were they to remain, but the brother would also stay in the apartment with them. There is no recorded data as to why the mother

was returning south, leaving her family in New York. The family was receiving public assistance through the mother's budget, but because she planned to return south, the two girls applied for public assistance.

Since her mother's move south, B's 19-year-old sister, N, became the head of the household. There seemed to be a lot of friction during this time between N and the brother; B took sides with her brother. In a group session, she reported that her brother and her sister's boy friend had a fight and that the boy friend pulled a gun on her brother. B was very concerned about her sister mainly because the sister does "everything her boy friend tells her to do." B was also concerned that eventually the boy friend would talk her sister "into putting her (B) out next." She was certain that the boy friend didn't like her because she had taken sides with her brother.

Because of the conflict in the household, B's mother returned to New York to take her son back south with her; he refused to go.

B is single and in September 1973, her daughter U was 18 months old. In one group session, it was reported that B was one of two members of the group who didn't have regular babysitters and didn't have money to pay the person who occasionally took care of their children. When she did start working in October, she was paying a babysitter $17 a week.

B stated that she couldn't live with the baby's father at the present because she had been taking care of her daughter for two years without his help and she could continue to do so.... She felt that it would take more than just getting a job for him to prove himself to her. The boy friend did not have his own apartment. He lived in his mother's household and, during a period when there was a lot of conflict with her sister, B stayed there too.

* * *

T's parents were born in the same southern hometown and had been childhood sweethearts prior to their marriage. T and her younger siblings were born in New York City. At the time T entered Careers Project, her parents were separated. T and her sister S, and possibly some of the younger siblings, do not have the same father.

Her mother, who was not employed, was supporting her seven children with aid from public assistance. T indicated that her mother had attended school through the tenth grade. Her father, a bartender, was killed in July 1973 when police and would-be hold-up men exchanged bullets where he was working. Her father had not been giving financial support to his family for years.

The family lives in a cramped four-bedroom apartment in a Harlem tenement. T and her son have their own bedroom and so does her sister S and her son. Even though the apartment was crowded, T never complained about the living conditions in her home. T seemed quite contented with the assistance and living arrangement she had at home.

T's relationship with her mother and family was a relatively good one. Her mother is a woman who wants to see her children get ahead and "to make the most of their lives." The mother had informed a peer aide that she did not "want her daughters to scrape pennies together and struggle to feed a family" as she had. T's mother and sisters would share the responsibility for caring for T's son and S's son whenever T and S were not at home.

The family is an example of a family with strong ties and cohesiveness. The mother told a peer aide that at a time when things were "real bad" for her family, her relatives had offered to take some of the children. Her reply to the offer was that even though her family didn't have much, they had each other.

At the time T entered the program her son was seven months old. T and her son had lived with the baby's father during the beginning of 1973. She reported that they had planned to marry, but that the two of them could not get along. Consequently, T and her son moved back into the mother's household where the child's father was not permitted to visit.

Staff perceptions of the mixture of vulnerabilities and strengths of the young women shortly after recruitment are given in these excerpts from a staff working paper:

> 1. In general, these young women think that their prospects in the labor market are extremely limited; consequently, many have lowered their aspirations.
>
> 2. Although almost 50 percent are in school, many are severely handicapped by a lack of basic academic skills.

Few have gotten much career information or training through the public school system.

3. Those who have left school exhibit especially severe skill deficits; their histories are filled with frustrating experiences which discouraged the return to school even though they were unable to obtain jobs.

4. There is a lack of adequate knowledge about how having children affects career and job planning. Some of the mothers perceived the role of mother as one which they could at least accomplish, and so they affirmed it as one achievement.

5. The knowledge of sex and of physical development is limited. The selection of mates and love partners is complicated by the limited environment in which they find themselves and by the varied and confusing role models with which they come in contact.

6. The relatively few who are achieving well in school and those who have indications of career plans are generally lacking in knowledge about such matters as college scholarships, the application process, and financial aid programs. Although many have managed to make a success of their school experience, their exposure to many aspects of the broader social and cultural environment outside of the ghetto is as limited as that of their counterparts who have dropped out of school.

These problems aside, the young women have a variety of strengths and resources which are relevant to the program:

1. They were eager to take part in the program and, without exception, moved into the groups with relative ease. The participants exhibited great energy and strong desires to be involved and to learn.

2. They are also able to articulate their hopes and expectations; and they are surprisingly honest and open about themselves.

3. They exhibit a wide range of academic abilities; some high school students perform on the college level, and some school dropouts are high achievers, both academically and artistically.

4. Despite considerable deprivation and disorganization within their communities, many of these young women come from stable families, and have parents who welcome and support the participation of their daughters in the program.

5. Those who are mothers are determined to provide better lives for their children; the program is viewed as a means to this end. Most mothers are able to make child-care arrangements; failing this, mothers would frequently bring children to the group sessions.

6. On the whole, staff found them to be an attractive group of young women, interested in understanding themselves and their roles as women.

These perceptions of the liabilities and assets of the young women were taken into account in the planning and the carrying out of the program phase. After the recruiting and orienting phase was over, staff perceptions of program objectives included the following:

1. We hope to help each girl develop an ability to make better use of educational and community resources and of our program in preparing for a job and/or a career.

2. For those still in school, we hope to reinforce their interest in staying in school through graduation by providing group supports and remedial education programs. We want to impress upon them the relationship between getting a decent job and levels and types of education. Comparable efforts will be made to inform and to influence school dropouts, emphasizing the need to correct educational deficits and the use of various means, including the return to school.

3. The young women should be encouraged to make long-range plans and to work toward carrying them out in concrete steps--for example, by taking entry-level jobs which provide training for higher-level positions, by entering high-school equivalency programs, and by acquiring and using clerical skills to help finance further education.

4. We want them to take greater responsibility for their relationships with people, and to use the program to develop a better perception of and greater respect for themselves and others.

5. The peer aides should create channels of communication and serve as positive role models, exemplifying young black women of similar background who had perceived and responded to opportunities open to them.

6. The peer aides should provide accurate information on sexual matters and related concerns, with an emphasis on family planning. It should be stressed that being a

mother does not have to limit one's range of possibilities. Although it would be advisable to delay having children in order to fulfill one's career-goals, it is also possible to so order one's life (e.g., through child care arrangements) so as to obtain an education or to pursue a career. The perspective to be emphasized is that it is best to develop one's self in order to be a better person and a better mother. Delaying motherhood may be the means not only to a career but to developing into well-rounded women before taking on the challenge of motherhood. We expect that opening up this very delicate area will reveal that the young women have many long abandoned wishes and ambitions.

7. Obviously, all efforts are to be related to the central aim of providing opportunities to obtain job information and encouragement and support in efforts to find jobs. For those who become employed, or choose a training program, it will be necessary to provide appropriate support, especially during periods of adjustment.

8. It will be important to help the young women improve grooming, poise, and self-expression, especially as these are related to the gaining and holding of employment.

## V. PROGRAM AND ACTIVITIES

### Peer Groups and Group Processes

The original research proposal stated that:

> The peer group discussion sessions will...facilitate a flow of information on the job market;...stimulate and guide action and behavior with regard to obtaining work, returning to school, and positive reinforcement of self-esteem. Experienced persons and consultants...will be used both as resources for the peer group and for aiding staff in program planning and evaluation. Information on employment strategies which have been successful for others is one kind of information the peer group might be provided.
>
> * * *
>
> It is not expected that the peer group mechanism will result in [all] of the girls seeking, obtaining, and maintaining meaningful employment. Attempts will be made to see the extent to which the peer group mechanism will work in helping to identify and to encourage... behavior changes in girls who do not succeed in getting employment or who are not able to sustain efforts to get a job. Parents, siblings and boy friends will be brought into this...process as indicated by the desires of the peer group girls.
>
> It is expected that [members of] the experimental peer group will attend scheduled peer group discussions at Northside for up to 15 hours per week. [Additional time] may be [devoted to] individual or specialized counseling, remedial education or special tutoring, job hunts and employment interviews, seeking educational and training opportunities, and attending informal or formal talks...relating to employment or personal growth.

The 51 participants were distributed among five peer groups: two groups had ten, two groups had eleven, and one had nine women. Each group was scheduled to meet two hours a week. Additional activities beyond the formal group sessions included job search interviews, field trips and cultural activities. With the support of staff members, the members of the groups conceived and carried out a variety of group projects, such as developing and putting out a newspaper and the planning and holding of "mini" conferences devoted to topical issues as well as to work related matters.

The groups varied along a number of dimensions, including

## TABLE 2

## Comparison of Selected Characteristics of Five Peer Groups

### December 1973

| | Group A (11) | Group B (10) | Group C (9) | Group D (10) | Group E (11) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Age** | | | | | |
| 16 years | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 17 " | 6 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 2 |
| 18 " | 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| 19 " | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 |
| 20 " | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| **Birthplace** | | | | | |
| New York City | 10 | 8 | 1 | 8 | 10 |
| Mississippi | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Virgin Islands | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| South Carolina | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Virginia | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Unknown | 1 | 0 | 6 | 1 | 0 |
| **Number of Children** | 2 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| With one child | 2 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 4 |
| With two children | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| **Marital Status** | | | | | |
| Single | 11 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 11 |
| Married | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| **Educational Status** | | | | | |
| Out of School Total | 3 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 9 |
| High School Graduate | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Equivalency | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Dropouts | 1 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 6 |
| Unknown | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| In School Total | 8 | 6 | 2 | 7 | 2 |
| 9th grade | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 10th grade | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| 11th grade | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 12th grade | 5 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Evening High School | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| College | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Unknown | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Employment Status** | | | | | |
| Employed | 1 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 3 |
| Unemployed | 10 | 4 | 7 | 7 | 8 |
| Unknown | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |

demographic characteristics--age, children, schooling, work experience, leadership, work orientations and behaviors, esprit de corps, and attendance.

Attendance at the scheduled sessions was dependent upon a number of factors, many of which bore no necessary relationship to interest or the quality of the leadership; for example, attendance might have been affected by the fact that a person got a job, making it difficult or impractical to attend scheduled sessions.

The composition of the peer groups reflected a number of factors, including the time of day a particular group was scheduled to meet, the responses of the members to the peer aide who was to lead a particular group, the influence of friends or acquaintances. Since many of the peer aides were involved in the recruitment process, some of the participants chose a group because they had had previous contact with a peer aide. In a number of instances persons who had agreed to participate in the early stages recruited others to the project; other participants had friends at school, or acquaintances from their neighborhoods and joined particular groups on the basis of one of these factors. Staff members had the impression that some of the young women with children knew each other, or seemed to gravitate toward each other, and chose groups on the basis of shared motherhood status.

Regardless of the factors involved in forming the groups, analysis of the membership of the groups and of the ways in which they functioned revealed some clusters based on friendship and on similar characteristics or experiences; for example, having a child or being in or out of school. (See Appendix A for a sociometric analysis of the groups.)

The brief summary descriptions of the five groups, written mid-way the program, suggest the varying quality of the relationships among the participants.

> Group A, led by Fran Dodson, is a group of 11 young women, eight of whom are attending high school. One of them has a child. Overall attendance at scheduled group sessions is above average, the discussion are spirited, and the activity level of the group is high.
>
> The group developed the idea for a newspaper and contributed poetry, essays and puzzles to the first issue. They held meetings and sleep-ins at the home of the peer group aide. They have held coeducational debates on such topics as sex roles in marriage; earnings, income and economic support; and the value of education. The young women also went as a group to see the new play, "Raisin."

The young women of this group have been among the most active in seeking employment, especially seasonal employment during the Christmas holidays. One of the young women, S, has recently obtained a permanent part-time job as a proof-reader in a photographer's studio. Two of the young women, M and N, both of whom attend a high school specializing in science, were actively involved in revealing the job field experience which is described later.

The peer group aide has succeeded in establishing a relaxed and accepting atmosphere. The participants are willing to share and to assist each other, and they volunteer frequently for activities outside of the regular group sessions. The peer group aide has succeeded in achieving a high degree of identification between herself and the members of this group.

Group B, led by Cathy Mann, consists of ten young women. Most of the young women are in school. Three are high school graduates, each is employed. One of the three high school graduates is a first year college student. During the Christmas season, six of the ten members of this group were employed.

Four of the ten young women are mothers; two of the mothers had children after the start of the program.

The combination of recent motherhood and high active participation in the labor market affected attendance in the group sessions; however, attendance remains generally good. The factors explaining the consistently good attendance in this group are not fully understood, because the leadership in this group has not been as direct and effective as it has been in some other groups.

On occasions the group can be mobilized for taking or and carrying out specific tasks when the aide actively projects herself and her thinking into the group. This is, in many ways, a relatively loose aggregation of young women in the process of getting to know each other better. The outcome of this process will be related not only to the characteristics of the young women themselves, but also to the functioning of the peer aides.

Group D, led by Rennie Hart, consists of ten young consists of ten young women, and is a mixture of in-school and out-of-school persons. Two members of this group have obtained employment, one of them at a high school which she attended as a student. The person employed at the high school is still able to attend sessions.

Group sessions are generally well attended, and the spirit of the group appears to be good. The group is active; it participated in numerous outside activities, and its discussions cover a wide range of topics.

Group D was the first group to suggest outside activities and to follow up their own suggestions. They went to see the Ed Bullins play, "The House Party," and also attended motion pictures together.

One of the members of the group has not been in attendance since the birth of a second child. The members of the group have kept in touch with her and identify very closely with her, although the majority do not have children of their own. One of the members, K, was married in late December; the peer aide attended the wedding.

The peer aide of this group has established a receptive climate in which the members can share feelings and opinions. A feature of the group's relationship to the project is that the members appear to prefer to do those things that they can do as a group. Their attachment to the peer aide is a factor affecting the quality of their indentification and functioning as members of the group.

Group E, led by Joan Allen, consists of 11 young women. The group is primarily an out-of-school group, consisting of persons who have dropped out of school, some as early as the ninth grade. The peer aide has helped them develop into an active group with good attendance.

The peer aide's effect on the members of the group, individually as well as collectively, was an important factor in the employment of three young women by a savings and loan association in early September. One of the paradoxical consequences of this early success was that two of the more active and articulate young women were not able to continue as regular members of the group. The tone and outlook of the group changed because those who remained were less communicative and less forceful at the time.

In Group E, the aide was especially effective in providing stimulus for movement toward employment, resulting in the employment of four of her group members.

The peer aide frequently cajoled and chastised members of this group in order to get regular attendance and participation. This group, as the others, has engaged in a number of activities, including trips to Coney Island, bowling and dinners.

The peer aide originally assigned to *Group C* was separated from the project in early October, and therefore, the group was without a peer aide for more than a month. In November another peer aide was assigned to this group, which consists of nine young women, most of whom are out of school.

This group began as a residual group, in that non-attenders from other groups were placed in it. The lack of a peer aide during the early stages of its existence contributed to absenteeism and inactivity. The present peer aide has induced four of the nine members to become active again. These four are the active nucleus of this group. One of the women had previous work experience in a factory; she has been placed in a position as a part time cashier in a grocery store.

The beginnings of the groups and some of the program activities were described in the following staff document:

*How the groups began.*--The five groups began to meet on a regular schedule during the week of July 23rd. This initial period was spent in helping the young women to get acquainted with one another, and in establishing a relaxed, open atmosphere. During this period, very little activity related to jobs and employment was possible. The aides, therefore, stressed other areas with which the program was concerned, such a raising aspiration levels, improving communication skills, and studying approaches to and techniques for entering the job market. This period also provided us with an opportunity to assess the attitudes, goals, and modes of expression exhibited by the young women. The peer aides concentrated on establishing relationships with the girls assigned to them and on trying out their various roles (i.e., group leader, resource person, role model, assistant programmers, etc.).

Some groups were characterized by spirited involvement and closeness between aides and participants from the outset, and others developed at a slower pace. What seemed to make the difference was the aide's personality and skill at making people feel at ease.

The participants were given guidelines when the program started. First, it was mandatory that they attend group sessions once a week for no less than two hours if they were to receive five dollars to cover expenses. They were also expected to take field assignments involving job interviews and to give an accounting in the groups of those experiences. If they obtained jobs, they were still expected to attend group sessions and to share experiences. They were also told that any topic could be discussed, and although the peer aide would bring information into the meetings, all members were encouraged to do the same.

* * *

The physical base for the program activities was on the premises of the Northside Center for Child Development located at the northern border of Central Park. One room was set aside for the exclusive use of the young women and served as "headquarters." Many of the group sessions were held in this room and it served as a meeting and lounge room used by the young women and the peer aides as late as eleven o'clock in the evening. The room was furnished with a couch and chairs and the young women decorated it frequently with posters, photographs and art objects.

A large auditorium was used for workshops, convocations to hear guest speakers and consultants, and social functions. Other space at Northside Center was available for training in typing skills, tutorial programs, and conferences with staff and consultants.

Among the community facilities that were used for meetings, interviews and leisure-time activities were the WE CARE facility on Edgecombe Avenue; the YWCA on 125th Street, the Louise Wise Services Center on East 94th Street, and the Minisink Town House at 142nd Street and Lenox Avenue.

## Job and Career Planning

The development and carrying out of job search plans were the shared responsibility of all staff, with direct and key roles played by the Assistant Project Director, one of the program assistants, and the peer aides. Efforts were made not only to enable each young woman to develop a positive orientation to work and career, but also to enable her to try to find a job. This meant that attempts were made to develop and implement practical job search or training plans for each member of the group. This plan was related to individual profiles that contained information in the following categories:

1. Personal and behavioral characteristics
2. Personal circumstances
3. General orientation, attitudes, expectations
4. Work orientation, attitudes, expectations
5. Work and job related knowledge
6. Previous work and job related experience.

The individual plans were related to the characteristics of the young women as actual and potential jobseekers, and to the nature of the labor market. Plans for the young women were seen as the results of combinations of the characteristics of the women, the state of the labor market, information about the labor market and how to move in it, and the support of program staff, especially peer aides.

A staff report of some of the specifics of its efforts follows:

> Staff prepared materials for discussion, but the primary purpose was to facilitate training to enter the labor market. The underlying theme was that few of these approaches to entering the labor market were totally unknown to the participants and that we were in most cases only pointing up skills and knowledge which they already possessed.
>
> However, given the presenting strengths and problems of the participants, an initial period of working through various personal problems seemed indicated. It was necessary to establish a job readiness attitude and to deal with various reality problems before some of the participants could make labor market plans. Many issues--such as delaying child-bearing in order to make formal education possible--were discussed concurrently with the emphasis on finding a job. In the same vein, persuading a sexually experimenting teenager to assume responsible contraceptive plans also took immediate priority over finding a job. In other words, a group session on contraception was very much related to the effective use of manpower information. These topics of discussions varied from relationships with parents which caused personal pressures, to frustration with a faulty educational system; but all discussions related to moving the participant to a greater maturity and eventual movement into the labor market.
>
> We began with the first step in applying for a job--the application process. Later, we back-tracked to focus on attitudes and expectations of employers and employees, as well as on techniques of looking for a job and assessing one's capabilities. The application process at first seemed a more concrete point with which to start; but these other matters, in retrospect, appear to represent a more appropriate way of approaching the task.
>
> We devised an application form which presented every conceivable question one might encounter. The participants filled it out in group meetings, and discussed

their answers. Modified problem-solvers--such as those used in the training of the peer aides--were used to stimulate discussion of jobs, education, child care and personal growth, allowing the development of constructive problem-solving styles. As time progressed, both the peer aides and participants developed the knack of creating "case studies" for group-resolution.

The participants, in preparation for their field assignments, were also instructed in test-taking. Two "how to take a test" handbooks were devised for the young women on this subject and several practice sessions were held covering a broad range of tests--from general aptitude to clerical. In many instances, the tests were those used by industry. We soon discovered that one obstacle to maximum achievement on tests was the ability of the participants to understand and follow directions. We, therefore, developed sample tests to improve this area of functioning. (See Appendix for partial and edited versions of some of the training instruments adapted or developed by staff.)

The young women also began taping practice interview sessions and they received comments on their performance from group members. This type of role-play called forth spontaneous reactions by the participants. They were hesitant at first, and often the peer aide had to be a first volunteer. As time went on, the young women asked for role-play, either to demonstrate what they had learned or to practice prior to attempting a field assignment.

To increase their verbal facility so as to make a good personal presentation, various games were devised. The participants used the tape recorder to monitor their modes of expression and the effectiveness of their communication. They spoke from three to five minutes on the subject, "Who am I?"--all of which lent itself to a personal assessment as well as practice for such open-ended interview questions as, "Tell me about yourself?" Additionally, a series of 3x5 index cards with typed questions or situations calling for a spontaneous response by the participant was utilized. The participant would select a card, sight unseen, and then proceed (within thirty seconds) either to answer or to act out the situation confronting her. Most of the questions required a response demonstrating knowledge of careers and/or jobs, as well as of approaches to the labor market (i.e., "A: The first thing I do in preparing for an interview is _____?" "B: Why?"). The participants were also asked to demonstrate their ability to express themselves on a broad range of questions (i.e., "A:

"What does women's liberation mean to you?").

Various other communication games were devised or adopted which stressed both the acquisition of vocabulary and the importance of understanding language in facilitating interpersonal relationships. These games were found in a variety of sources, i.e., the newspapers, the home version of Password. Some tasks were developed by peer aides as an outgrowth of their own experiences in school.

We worked very closely with an organization funded by Harlem Hospital known as Operation Total Family (O.T.F.) in the dissemination of accurate sex information. Films and literature provided stimulus for discussions, with special emphasis on contraception and assuming responsibility in the sexual relationship. Resource personnel from O.T.F. met with the groups, and the peer aides reinforced these discussions with information obtained from the birth-control handbooks.

We also used visual aids which described what people did in certain careers or job categories. Video taping was used to provide material for future lessons--i.e., job interview techniques, self-expression, and personal presentation.

The newspaper was another resource. Explanation of the classified jobs section eventually stimulated the participants to want to produce their own paper. It was to be an outlet for creative expression and a way of communicating among the five groups. Programmatically, it was an educational instrument relevant to issues confronting the prospective employee or student. "Innervisions," as it was called, went to press four times, beginning in February 1974; the last issue was published in October 1974. A small editorial staff, made up of participants under peer aide supervision, canvassed the other group members for contributions.

Later in the program, the peer aides were to lead supplementary group sessions which covered such areas as the reproductive system (science workshop), how to write a resume, an English language workshop, cognitive skills development, and a drama workshop in which participants eventually wrote and performed in their own scripts.

With the aid of the project secretary, participants who wanted a measurement of their typing skills were allowed practice sessions on the electric typewriters and also were tested. Employment cards were then made up and marketable skills recorded.

A "job board" was also placed in the meeting room on which ads from newspapers or employment information were placed. Participants were urged at the beginning of each session to look at the board. There was also a "Careers and General Information" bulletin board on which pamphlets about various professions, scholarships, and other pertinent information were placed. A lending library was developed with literature covering topics from grooming and child-care to the Occupational Handbook. As the project progressed, the participants who became a part of the remedial program contributed textbooks (science, mathematics, and English grammar) to the library.

The development of program materials was everyone's responsibility and, depending on the need, different tasks were assigned. Being constantly concerned with "how an individual is perceived," the participants were even asked to record their responses to "Eyes and Ears are on me. What do they hear? What do they see?" They were also given tasks, from time to time, in which they were asked to identify a job, its duties, and the expectations of the worker, the employer and the client (if there were one), as well as to identify the components of an interview. The Occupational Handbook was used extensively.

Industry tours and outside activities.--It was not considered sufficient to expose the participants to various ideas. It was necessary to expose the participitants to the broader community. The subsequent experiences provided further materials for the group to digest and rework when they returned to their regular meeting. Moreover, such additional activities enlarged the time spent in the group.

Activities included theater outings (both on and off Broadway), dance recitals and movies. Recreational outings ranged from sleep-ins (at a peer aide's home), "partying" together, bowling, and bi-weekly outings to a community gym. Sometimes groups took in an exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum and topped that off with dining out at a midtown restaurant.

Of special note were the Industry Tours which allowed the participants an opportunity to see the variety of ways in which individuals can work in order to earn a living (i.e., AT&T, December 6, 1973; Radio Station WLIB, April 8, 1974; New York Stock Exchange, April 10, 1974; Mt. Sinai Hospital, May 9, 1974; New York Times, June 18, 1974).

In late October, in order to facilitate group and individual development, special tasks and problem-solving activities were assigned the various groups. Individuals were expected to follow certain assignments through to resolution; these assignments were indirectly related to the job search and directly related to developing personal skills which would enhance their employability.

As the project evolved, staff efforts to develop and implement individual job search and career plans were stepped up. These efforts included improved staff coordination and communication and the use of selected consultants and manpower specialists. Special attention was given to the continuing in-service training of the peer group aides, with emphasis upon the parts they were to play in the implementation of job search plans and in the monitoring of work behavior.

The staff developed methods aimed at improving the informational and feed-back processes and expanding firsthand knowledge about the labor market, jobs and careers. Among the changes were the reorganization of the peer groups into categories which were more functional in terms of job orientation and job readiness and increased emphasis upon the seminar as an informational and motivational mechanism. An analysis of the group session records and of the background characteristics of the 51 study group members showed that they fell into four categories which were called manpower groups: Group I, the college-bound; Group II, available for employment; Group III, the out-of-school, needing remediation prior to taking jobs or entering training programs; and Group IV, persons returning to high school in September, both those who were in school and out of school at the time.

Staff developed an alternate-week schedule which had the effect of decreasing the number of group sessions and increasing the number of seminars. This had the advantage of preserving the ties that had developed within the five groups respectively; and at the same time enabling the individuals who were functioning as members of the newly constituted four groups during the alternate weeks to become more cohesive and focused with respect to labor market and career interests.

Seminars centered on labor market and job information were held twice a month; these featured visitors representing employers, agencies, and academic institutions. Participation was voluntary and attendance was rated by staff as being gratifyingly good. The individuals who attended seminars, in addition to benefiting from participation, frequently took back new information and ideas to their respective groups.

A list of seminars held during the five-month period, February through June, follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| February 14 | "Temporary Employment Agencies." Joseph P. Kennedy, President, Continental Contemporaries. |
| February 28 | "Y.S.A. as a Resource." L. Dunston, Director, Harlem Branch, Youth Services Agencies (Y.S.A.). |
| March 1 | "Education, Training and Scholarship." Beverly Saunders, Counselor, National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS). |
| March 15 | "Educational and Work Opportunities in the New York Area." John Pyatt, Counselor-Instructor, SEEK--College Discovery Program, Herbert H. Lehman College, CUNY. |
| March 28 | "How To Go About Getting a Job." Mr. Margolis, New York State Employment Service. |
| April 10 | Film on Medical Careers. |
| April 19 | "Why Go To College, and Once There, What To Do!" Barbara Stanley, Supervisor of Counselors--SEEK Program, Hunter College, CUNY. |
| April 25 | "Information and Application for Summer Jobs at Burlington Industries." Bonita Gray, Recruiter, Burlington Industries. |
| May 1 | Think Workshop: Vocabulary-Cognitive Exercises. Careers Staff. |
| May 3 | Beauty Clinic: Make-Up and Skin Care. Pat Sawyer, Assistant Beauty Editor, Redbook Magazine. |
| May 8 | Student College Interviews at Americana Hotel, National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS). |
| May 9 | Health Tour, Mt. Sinai Hospital. |
| May 10 | "Expansion of New Careers and the Labor Market for Black Women." Renee DuJean, BEEP Program, New York City Urban League. |
| May 16 | "Education and Job Opportunities." J. Bailey, Coordinator of Counseling Services, SUNY Educational Opportunity Center. |
| May 21 | "Manpower and Career Development." Cyril Tyson, Vice President, Optimum Computers Service. |
| May 22 | Beauty Clinic: Hair Care and Dress. Pat Sawyer, Assistant Beauty Editor, Redbook Magazine. |
| June 19 | "Careers in Law, Right to Public Assistance." Carl Callendar, Attorney at Law. |

| | |
|---|---|
| June 21 | "Federal Employment and Women." Mary Gladney, Personnel Management Supervisor, U. S. Civil Service Commission. |
| June 26 | "Women in the Work Force." Mary Tobin, Regional Director, Labor Department, Women's Bureau. |
| June 28 | Film. Careers in Law. |

The staff commented on the seminars, the job search plans, and the tutorial program in the following report:

> Despite our efforts to meet the needs of all the participants, the seminars drew the largest attendance from manpower groupings I (college-bound) and IV (high school). Those in Group II (available for employment) tended to be fully or part-time employed and were unable to attend. The special needs of Group III (remediation) were difficult to meet in the seminars, even in those focused on training programs. However, the importance of improving their skill levels if they were to find employment and training opportunities was brought home to them through the seminars.
>
> To encourage an active attendance role in the seminars, the participants were rewarded with money ($2 per hour). Financial incentives were of very real concern to the young women, for they were often unable to pay carfare or to follow through on the grooming and clothing suggestions. Those working additional hours on the newspaper also argued that they should be rewarded for their efforts. Accordingly, they also were paid, for the paper had become an important educational instrument in the program. We also hoped that the newspaper activities would attract those who had skill deficits; it did, but not as consistently as we desired.
>
> Another specific manpower activity was the development of "Individualized Job" search plan--a procedure for assessing the labor market skills and interests of the participant, and of then trying to locate a job that matched the individual's needs, abilities, and skills. These assessments were made by supervising staff who read available data on the participant, spoke with the appropriate peer aide, and interviewed the participant. This process often revealed the extent to which seemingly unrelated matters or long established negative habits in a person's life interfered with her ability to capitalize on the program. Such was especially true of those participants in manpower Group III, for it was difficult to meet the needs of these participants, since they did not meet the criteria of employers in a tight labor market. For older participants who were equipped with the requisite education and skills, we had greater success with placements.

The primary value of the individual assessment for those in Group II was the impression it made upon them of the crucial relationship between education and obtaining decent jobs.

As part of a general effort to upgrade skills, we developed a tutoring service. Participation was voluntary. Most of those needing help were hesitant or unwilling to admit their deficits. Towards the end of the year, however, two pressures converged to increase the amount of tutoring requested: (1) final exams loomed as the school year ended and the young women became anxious for help; and (2) after repeated negative experiences in the labor market, and with the summer approaching, the members of Group III--knowing that they would be unemployed over the summer--began to seek out assistance. It is also possible that they were influenced by seeing other group members studying intensively, or asking for help, or discussing their anxieties.

The summer tutorial program began on July 8 and concluded August 22, 1974. The program was modeled on an earlier one sponsored by Mobilization for Youth, which had demonstrated that tutors of high school age often greatly improved their own educational skills as a result of tutoring younger children. Nineteen of our young women were identified as having the least possibility of employment because of deficient skill levels in mathematics and reading; some even had little chance of qualifying for training programs. All had interrupted educational histories; several had only completed the eighth grade.

These young women were hired to tutor boys and girls between the ages of eight and twelve years who were behind one or two years in reading and/or mathematics. No severe cases of reading disabilities were accepted. The tutors stressed simple vocabulary and reading comprehension, together with the fundamentals of mathematics. The children were in some cases the sons and daughters of the participants, and in other cases were recruited through community agencies.

To train the tutors was, in effect, to provide them with remediation; but they viewed the process as preparation for jobs and thus accepted it. Their eagerness to obtain the tutoring jobs was measured by their relatively low-keyed reactions to pre-testing and to the need to attend training sessions. Such sessions employed "Think" techniques, the value of which lay in the philosophy that conceptual and abstract ability can be learned by organizing what one already knows--in effect, you know more than you think you do, and practicing recall and association makes it easier to transfer knowledge successfully.

Tutor training was supervised by a peer aide who was assisted by a remedial specialist and the associate program director. The peer aide had just graduated from college, and had completed the program for a New York City teaching license. Her command of the fundamentals of mathematics and English was excellent, and she undertook the task willingly. The eight tutors finally selected were paid from Neighborhood Youth Corp funds at a rate of $2 an hour for approximately 24 hours per week. The tutors worked six hours each day (Monday through Thursday). On Friday they were paid at the rate of $2.50 per hour from project funds to prepare lessons, correct papers, and receive additional training.

In the mornings, the tutors worked with two or three youngsters on reading skills (comprehension and vocabulary building) and then on mathematics proficiency. After lunch, everyone convened in the auditorium for word-building games or recreation. Each afternoon a trip to some point of interest was planned and swimming was included at least once a week.

The children seemed to enjoy participating in the program; they related well to their respective tutors. The structure of the tutoring sessions were not as tight as we would have wished, particularly since too much time had to be devoted to organizing staff from day to day. The tutors were slow to use new materials and methods. The tutors had not enjoyed learning in the past, so it was hard for them to inspire these youngsters. Moreover, the tutors had so many skill deficiencies that it was difficult to catch errors in their tutoring activities. Without doubt, the program helped the children academically, although the results are not as clear for the tutors; however, the tutors did seem to make impressive gains in their own maturation.

One of the peer groups (Group A) reacted very positively to the new seminar emphasis but did not want to give up any of the original discussion group sessions. The group continued to meet weekly with peer aides, with much discussion revolving around school assignments. This was characteristic of the increased motivation the seminars engendered generally in all participants; and it emphasized the young women's increased sense of confidence and their increasing disposition to take advantage of all services and activities offered to them. Some of the young women who were asked to devote more time to skills development (remediation) were immediately responsive and positive. A few of those who were in need of remediation were hesitant in responses; however, their responsiveness improved as the remediation program was established and continued.

When the program shifted to include seminars, attendance improved, the average weekly attendance being generally 25-30 in the first months and reaching 33 per week by the end of June. This occurred despite the fact that up to July, eight to nine participants had been employed and were unable to attend sessions consistently. Improved attendance was correlated with the special interests and motivations of the new groupings. Attendance was highest in seminars for the young women in the college-bound (Group I), available for employment (Group II), and continuing-in-school (Group IV) groups, in that order. High attendance was also associated with subject matter, a job information workshop attracting the largest group. Seminar discussions served to stimulate similar job-related discussions in the peer group sessions that followed.

A system of merit awards was introduced to stimulate individuals to participate in more than one seminar during the alternate weeks. The normal compensation plan had been maintained for the week of regular group sessions. During the alternate week a person earned the normal rate of $5 per seminar for the first seminar attended. Each additional seminar attended provided a $3 bonus, up to a maximum of $12 per week (for attendance at four extra seminars). Bonuses were given for educational activities only.

As the program continued, partly as a result of staff planning and experience, field trips and tours for manpower purposes also increased in importance. Among other things, they helped consolidate relationships between the women and peer aides in the groups. They provided a variety of experiences and exposures to the world of work on a systematic basis. Most field trips were to sites and events having to do with the labor market and preparing for jobs. Field trips and seminars provided opportunities to ask questions and increase knowledge of occupational possibilities. Excursions to the theatre, movies, parties, and gymnasium workouts were added activities initiated by the women themselves.

Much of the program effort was geared to providing guidance and individual career counseling on a continuing basis. The development of information needed for individual job search plans involved continuous review of the information available on each participant, much of it in the data and personnel files for each sample participant; regular consultation with peer aides in order to assess firsthand information; stimulating and guiding active participation in job seeking, information discussions and scheduled conferences concerning job plans and career goals; monitoring of actual job experiences and reactions; and continuous staff consultation. This process resulted in a series of individualized plans for action having specific reference to work and/or school and training and careers. The following staff notes suggest some of the aims and some of the procedures that were translated into individual job-search plans.

> S was born July 11, 1955. She is one of eight children. Her formal education was interrupted during her third year of high school by pregnancy. She has one son. Since joining the Careers Project, S has obtained her high school equivalency diploma. Prior to this project, S's work experience added up to a total of three months spread over three summers.
>
> S joined the project in July 1973. She was one of the first participants to go out on job interviews. Her employment search began with a test at a department store. She passed the test but was not hired. Her second attempt to obtain a job involved an interview for a receptionist's position. She was not hired.
>
> On September 6, 1973, as a result of project efforts, S was interviewed and hired as a bank teller trainee. She was very excited about her job.
>
> During group session held on January 10, 1974, S expressed openly her dissatisfaction with her job at the bank. She thought that she was being poorly supervised as there were a number of bosses. S said that she had taken a test with a telephone company for a business manager's position. She requested at this time that her peer aide find her a job. From this point on S continued to express her unhappiness as a bank teller.
>
> I talked to S about her problems, feelings, attitude and career plans, stressing that it was not only important for S to be aware of herself when she entered the labor market, but also that she try and remain there. This required a job search plan which would identify her interest and skills. Before asking S to come in for a conference, I obtained background information from her peer aide and her profile.
>
> The conference with S included her peer aide, the Assistant Project Director, and myself....S had more pressing matters on her mind than her frustrations with the job. She was upset because she had received a letter from the Internal Revenue Service requesting her statement verifying claims of support by the father of her child for 1972. We explained tax laws to S, noting the fact that she was claiming her son while the child was also receiving public assistance from her mother's budget.

S expressed a desire to receive support from the father of her child. The court process was then explained. I advised S that I would get the necessary information to start court proceedings. This was done. S followed through and the support problem was resolved.

In expressing dissatisfaction with her job at the bank, S noted that she was troubled to see others dismissed for no reason. She resented being told that she was being transferred to another branch on the effective day. The line of supervision confused S (too many bosses). There were personality problems too.

In talking to S about the labor market in terms of her interests, skills, and career aspirations, I suggested that she look for another job, and stressed the importance of maintaining a job for a year. She stated her dislike for the bank but agreed to remain until after her summer vacation. Although S said she wants to become a social worker, she is not willing to return to school to pursue her career interest.

On May 10, S came to us with the news that she was given her vacation pay along with the option to resign or be fired. She chose to resign.

Staff is currently setting up job interviews for S. She has stated a preference for a clerical job, with an emphasis on dealing with numbers.

All individualized job search plans were completed by the end of June. The development of individualized job search plans and the use of manpower consultants enabled staff to work more efficiently on the matching of job interests and qualifications with the jobs available. By late spring the number and quality of staff contacts with potential employers had improved. By that time it was also possible to focus on helping some of the women prepare for college, to go through admission procedures, and to acquire scholarship aid. In the main, the people interested in college were in Group I. At this time, added efforts were made to encourage young women in Group II to plan college careers and to begin to prepare for entrance. Special efforts were made to help secure summer jobs for the ones who were college bound or who expressed interest in the possibility of attending college.

## Employment Status of Women in the Experimental Group

At the beginning of June 1974, just before the start of the summer employment season, one-half (26 of 51) of the experimental group members were active in the labor market and had had some direct job experience. By the middle of the summer more than

80 percent (41 out of 51) had had job experience. Six of them, approximately one in eight, had had the experience of being dismissed from jobs. Late in July, 38 (almost four out of every five) were employed. Their work experiences covered a wide range--tutoring, sales and clerical, assembly line, etc.

Twenty-one of the 38 employed obtained jobs through programs employing youth during the summer that were affiliated with or sponsored by the city. One in five (eight) were employed by a large corporation. Two worked in banks, others worked for small business firms, and several worked in hospitals.

One in eight of the young women employed was employed for the first time. The 38 women employed commanded 66 jobs, approximately three out of every five of which resulted from direct staff involvement. It is difficult to determine how many of the two out of every five jobs secured by the women themselves were the result of participation in the project and peer group influence, direct or indirect.

The bulk of the jobs that had been secured by mid-summer were full-time jobs. Most of the women have had one job; some have had two or three jobs; and one has had four jobs.

There were fifteen high school graduates in the experimental group. Fourteen of them were employed as of mid-summer; seven of these fourteen were June 1974 graduates. The one high school graduate currently unemployed was actively seeking work. Slightly more than one in four (eleven) of those who were employed planned to continue school at the secondary level in September 1974.

Of the 38 experimental group members employed, ten were school dropouts, six of whom were in the summer tutorial program. Approximately two-thirds (26) of those who were working attended group meetings consistently.

Mobility and employment turnover reflected three general conditions or factors: (1) resignations or quittings--because of poor working conditions, dissatisfaction with pay, conflicts with school schedules and educational plans, opportunities to take a better job; (2) seasonal or temporary nature of the jobs; (3) dismissals.

Twelve of the 51 people in the experimental group were not employed as of mid-summer; the employment status of one was unknown. The program and labor market experiences of nine of the twelve people not employed are summarized below:

| Attendance at Sessions | Experience | Number |
|---|---|---|
| None | No labor market exposure | 3 |
| Irregular | Some labor market exposure | 1 |
| | Placement in college | 1 |
| Frequent | Court case involvement | 1 |
| | Considerable labor market exposure | 3 |

The staff members with specific responsibility for gathering labor market information and supporting job search behavior provided the following brief summary of its experiences and impressions. (See Chapters VII and VIII for a quantitative analysis of program effects, especially Chapter VIII, "Impact on Employment and Job Seeking.")

> It was not easy to find jobs for this population. Potential employers were contacted over a period of days, weeks and months in order to develop jobs for the teenage participants. One staff member spent more than two months studying, analyzing and collecting data on the New York City labor market. A list of 151 institutions representing possible employers was compiled. Active institutions included manufacturing, commercial and service enterprises. Contacts were made with potential employers by mail, telephone and field visits. Although employment was the primary purpose of these contacts, many of the institutions were utilized for educational, training and additional services.
>
> One financial institution provided the participants with educational experiences, even though they did not hire any. A representative participated in a seminar as a means of informing the peer aides of the history and function of the business and of the careers available. This business expressed interest only in high school graduates who would be able to work full time. The jobs available were for clerks, pages and typists. No summer jobs were available. Another illustration in this vein was a college located in the area. While there were no jobs available for which the participants could qualify, one individual was admitted to the college and she is still attending.
>
> During the project year, 111 institutions were contacted for the purpose of securing jobs. Of that number, one in seven (14 percent) responded favorably to our request and hired one or more of the project participants at entry-level positions. Those institutions which did not respond with job offers or possibilities gave various reasons, including lack of entry-level jobs, part-time jobs and training programs, and/or the teenagers' lack

of education, skills, or experience.

We obtained the greatest number of jobs in service institutions, such as manpower services and neighborhood youth corps. Four service agencies hired an average of five participants each.

The employment rate reached its peak during the summer, when federally funded jobs were created for the high school population and for college students. The employment achieved can be attributed in significant measure to the number of contacts made by staff. Telephone calls, ranging in number from one to 21, were made in order to locate jobs, to set up interviews, and to obtain feedback after interviews. We were in contact with some companies over the period of a full year, especially with those which provided hope that jobs would develop or be created.

Of the 16 organizations or enterprises that hired participants in the program, eleven had blacks in positions with hiring capacities, including recruiters, personnel directors, or department heads.

The teenage participants who found employment were concentrated in clerical positions--32 of the 39. The remaining jobs were as sales clerks and cashiers. The positions available reflected the educational attainment of the participants; those who were in school tended to be employed more often by industrial and commercial companies at entry-level positions. Dropouts were more often employed by service organizations, such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Earnings ranged from the minimum wage of $1.85 per hour to $4.22 per hour. Earnings appeared to be related to the rates prevailing in a particular company rather than to the jobs as such. Clerical pay varied from $2 to $3.95 per hour. The highest earnings were as telephone operators. Full-time positions paid more per hour than part-time positions.

As the analysis in Chapter VIII, "Impact on Employment and Job Seeking" and Chapter IX, "Impact on Educational and Career Aspirations," shows virtually every member of the experimental group held a job at some point during the program year.

Project staff was directly responsible for obtaining jobs for more than half (53 percent) of the participants; over and above the one-third (32 percent) of the experimental group members who found jobs on their own. Given the recessionary labor market, an added premium was placed on staff playing an active role in searching out and developing job openings. Under different economic conditions, the role of Northside Center might have been limited more to supporting the peer group's development and to assisting individual members to move out on their own. The first five months did indicate that group members were able to pursue jobs on their own, once they had been provided with some basic leads and the supportive interest of the group.

## Peer Aides

At the beginning of the project there were five peer aides and one coordinator for tutoring. Each of the six was enrolled in a local college; five were seniors and one was a freshmen. One peer aide received a bachelor's degree in January 1974, another in June 1974. Three others expected to graduate with baccalaureate degress in January 1975.

A brief sketch of the characteristics of the peer aides at the start of the project follows:

> Cathy Mann is 22 years old and lives with her family. She is a senior at a local college, majoring in psychology.
>
> Fran Dodson is 21 years old. Her family moved to New York from Alabama when she was six. Upon graduation from high school, she enrolled in the SEEK program at a local college, where she is now a senior, majoring in sociology. She wants to be a researcher in "anything, as long as it relates to people. Ms. Dodson takes great pride in her job history. She has worked with community social action programs--Federation Addiction and Big Brothers.
>
> Sue Jerome joined the program as a replacement in November. She is 21 years old and a senior at a local college. Her major is English language arts, and she is working toward a teacher's license in elementary education. The oldest of six children, she lives with her family. She was previously employed on a part-time basis, but she left that job to join this project because it promised to be related to her career interests; she sees the project as an opportunity to help young women to better their conditions in order to cope with and live in their environment.
>
> Ronnie Hart is 22 years old and lives in the New York City area with her parents, brothers and sisters. Born in Georgia, she attended grade school through the fifth grade in Detroit. When she was twelve, her parents moved

to New York City. She graduated from high school and is now a senior at a local college, majoring in psychology.

When asked about her expectations she replied that she expects her experience as a peer aide to provide her with skills for dealing with people and herself as a group worker, rather than as a teacher.

Joan Allen joined the Urban Corps in order to qualify for the job of peer aide. At 28, she is the oldest of the peer aides. She frequently assumes a leadership role among the peer aides. She attends a local college; she is majoring in sociology and expects to graduate January 31, 1974. She lives in the New York area and is the head of her own household. Upon graduation from college, she expects to remain with the project on a full-time basis. It was Ms. Allen who initiated contacts with a savings and loan association and a major business as a means of exploring and developing jobs.

In the original proposal the peer group aides were seen as crucial both to the development and to the functioning of peer groups; they were to play intermediary and advocacy roles in a variety of work and non-work situations. It was thought that there would be advantages in using young college students in these positions: that they would not only serve as role models, but that their own sense of achievement and self-confidence would be affected positively.

During the first six months of the project the peer aides not only played a variety of roles, but also developed a consciousness of themselves as a functioning group. The personalities, the previous experiences of the aides, and their particular ways of dealing with the young women in groups and as individuals, were factors that probably affected the functioning of particular peer groups in significant ways. These factors were not seen as operating independently of the characteristics of the groups or of other situational factors not specified or identified at that time.

Among other things, the peer aides were thought of as key sources of information about the work attitudes and orientations and the work behavior of the young women. The planning and directing of the activities of the peer aides was, therefore, a central staff concern.

Although there are undoubtedly many common factors, some of which have been described, there was no typical peer aide, as there was no typical peer group.

The following excerpts from a comprehensive profile of a peer aide, prepared by a staff member, suggests something of the mixture of personality, program and situational factors that affected the peer group process and the functioning of a peer aide.

Sue Jerome, born in 1952, came to our attention in November of 1973 in the midst of our search to find a replacement for peer aide Pat Ross. She was referred by a SEEK counselor at a local college where she was a student. She impressed us immediately in the interview as a strong, self-composed and enthusiastic personality who'd be able to undertake the challenge of regrouping and reinvolving nine participants. She was extremely verbal and not threatened by difficulties. She wanted the job because she'd never worked with people in a social setting before and saw it as a good opportunity to prepare further for becoming a teacher.

At the time of the interview, she was employed on a part-time basis, as a packer and loader. She said it was a physically exhausting job and could not recommend it to our young women. She had taken the job primarily because of the high wages; they were used to supplement her SEEK stipend and to assist her family. Although joining the project staff would mean a significant cut in salary, she saw the experience as being of more value.

Upon being hired as a peer aide, Sue moved immediately and aggressively into the work situation. She entered into the already formed peer aide group relationships with ease. Her ability to do so in a relatively short period of time impressed the other aides; they made comments about how their own groups developed and about the time involved to achieve their present unity.

The high levels of energy and enthusiasm she brought to the peer aide job are indications of how she approaches life in general. She graduated from college cum laude, and received honors from both the SEEK Department and the Humanities Departments (via the Dean's list) this past semester. She responds enthusiastically to honors and praise in recognition of her scholastic achievements. She plans to attend graduate school and to concentrate in special education, specifically with regard to emotionally disturbed children.

She began reactivating the group assigned to her by retrieving the participants who had been neglected; she wrote, telephoned and visited their homes. Her initial efforts met with sporadic and uneven results; the girls seemed unable to form a consistent group. She achieved solid relationships through her individualized contacts; however, the girls seemed unwilling or unable to share experiences and interests with other members of the group. Sue became intensely involved with trying to organize them into a cohesive group. She took personal responsibility for each meeting when only one or two girls appeared. She was eventually successful in establishing contact with eight of nine of the "difficult to involve" participants and in achieving a more or less unified group with five of the girls at program's end. She was responsible for reinvolving young participants who had become mothers.

Sue was able to identify with the goals of the program and actively to direct group sessions and stimulate and guide member participation. She was consistently prepared prior to each session. She was able to introduce topics skillfully, encourage participation and to summarize effectively arrived at points made and consensus achieved in groups. She was delighted with the girls' obvious comprehension of the tasks and with their individual development.

Sue also became a voluntary tutor to those participants assigned to the manpower grouping. She was more confident than the other aides in her ability to assist in tutoring because of her academic preparation. She demonstrated excellent math skills as well as English language skills and enjoyed the expansion of her responsibilities.

As the summer tutorial program materialized, utilizing some of the young women, she was the obvious choice from among the peer aides to assume charge. She sought advice on how to conduct the on-the-job training of the tutors. She listened to more experienced professionals but also contributed many creative and sensitive suggestions of her own.

When the summer tutorial program commenced, Sue was confronted with the enormous tasks of planning, organizing and directing programs for the students to be tutored. She appeared harried sometimes and kept up a frenetic pace; however, she gave indications of enjoying every moment of it. She was at times sorely tested by the heavy dependency of the tutors; however, she reacted much as she had when her own regular group failed to live up to standards she set for them and herself. She chastised them, at first as though a disappointed parent, but with time as an involved friend. Soon both the participants in the regular group and those in the group of tutors began to assume more responsibility and to show increasing confidence and effectiveness.

Partly as a result of mulling over the preparation of her own resume, Sue led a seminar on the subject and developed outlines for the information and guidance of the participants. She has passed all state and local licensing exams for teaching and is tentatively hired as an elementary school teacher. Since her employment is contingent on the District's budget, she is very concerned about her employment status come the fall.

The recruitment and the training of the peer aides are described in the following excerpts:

In order to reach young college women, we communicated with the placement officers of colleges in New York City participating in the Urban Corps and College Work Study Programs. Contacts were also made with the directors of the SEEK Programs in the senior college of the City University system. Each of these programs attempts to provide relevant work experiences for students who need to work to support themselves while in college. Urban Corps interns are paid at rates according to their college classifications, at no cost to the employer. College Work Study interns are paid at a flat rate regardless of classification, with the employer contributing 20 percent of the salary.

Five peer aides were recruited through the Urban Corps program and one through the College Work Study Program. No intern was permitted to work more than 15 hours per week during the regular school sessions. During the summer, interns were allowed to work up to full time--35 hours per week--depending upon the amount of the financial grant, based on their estimated financial needs. Two of the original aides chosen were replaced during the program.

The ease with which changes in the organization of the groups and in the program was made throughout the year was facilitated by the close relationships established in the groups. The peer aides as effective role models helped to unify the groups. Each provided some special quality in her handling of relationships. Some of the peer aides were regarded as members of the groups, while others were perceived as helping "big sisters."

The staff made an assessment of peer aides and of the impract of the program upon them:

Ronnie Hart. Perhaps one of the more contained members of the peer aide staff, Ronnie Hart saw herself as very much like the girls in her group; more than any other aide, she was very accepting of the participants.

She felt very responsible for the educational and labor market content of her sessions. She developed materials for group discussion, practiced beforehand what she wanted to say, and opened areas for discussion which she felt should be covered. She was very responsive to issues raised by the participants.

She was initially unsure of her ability to handle relationships, and shied away from being a conscious model; she very nearly rejected the responsibility implied. Her concern for each individual member, however, gave her the confidence to get close to them. This peer aide had tremendous respect for her group members and they were able to discern this. They were also able to penetrate her "cool" facade, understanding it for what it was; indeed, her demeanor became a model for a more constructive behavioral style on their part.

Sue Jerome. She was able to take on a difficult task--that of replacing another peer aide and developing a group of girls with whom the project had had little or no contact. She was successful in reinvolving six of nine girls assigned to her.

A very mature and confident young woman, she had a "gift of gab" which made her an immediate asset to the staff. A high academic achiever, she emphasized skills and educational development, instilling in the girls a sense that they were capable and competent. Because of the slow regrouping process, she had the time for intimate person-to-person contacts which resulted in the formation of very close relationships with each member of the group. She knew them well and they found in her the equivalent of an older sister to whom to confide. It was not so much that they wanted to be like her as that they valued her counsel--for her knack was to enable them to see a way out of their own problems.

She was conscientious in preparing for sessions and group members found her to be a "real" person who really cared.

Cathy Mann. This peer aide was the most enigmatic of the aides in that she was unable or unwilling to share herself with the participants. An extremely verbal person in one-to-one encounters, she was unable to respond well in group settings, with the result that her group often appeared to be leaderless. The result was constant bickering and active vying for leadership among the members. Although the members were consistent in their attendance, their ability to reach resolutions for the group's benefit was limited.

However, this peer aide did possess a knack for appearing to be involved, although she rarely verbalized her opinions. It was this sense that she was actually interested and involved which led group members to identify her as "shy" but to state that they liked her and felt that she was a good counselor.

It might be that she had not resolved or worked through her own feelings about authority, or the issues with which group members wanted to grapple, all of which made her feel insecure. In this sense, she was too much like them to help them.

Fran Dodson. Her perspective from the beginning was that jobs were a means to an end. Because of the particular composition of her group, this emphasis was appropriate, for the majority of the participants were college-bound or continued to be enrolled in school. The content of their discussions was quite varied, and the girls stretched their imaginations to solve all manner of problems with Fran Dodson serving as a ready and eager sounding-board against which they tested their primary concerns and opinions.

She was into their style of clothes, "lingo," and she enjoyed the very same activities: "partying," "fellas," and "creating things." It was in her group that the newspaper and drama clubs were originated. She was full of energy; she searched eagerly and aggressively for answers to concrete questions (birth control, race relations) and to philosophical ones (the problem of aging in today's society, etc.). She has a passion for truth and a belief that one has to involve oneself actively in change. She testified that she learned a great deal from her involvement in the project--about herself, other people, and how to take things more in stride. She felt that she had modified her tendency to be intellectually intolerant, and had learned to pursue goals in a more organized fashion. She opened her heart and home to the members of her group and there were no dependencies formed which did not work themselves out.

Joan Allen. Her primary focus was to find jobs for the members of her group. In this way, she felt she was meeting the needs of those girls who seemed to be most in need of employment. She relied more upon her extensive work history than the other aides in pursuing job leads and was able to secure five placements for project members.

She was intensively involved in the group's development and in the progress of individual members, taking to heart their gains and setbacks. She tended to be so overwhelmed by their personal situations and a desire to change their lives that she was often in danger of becoming a surrogate mother. With most of the girls in her group, this approach worked, for her group contained many girls who had dropped out of school, who had children, and who had had numerous confrontations with the law. These young women needed someone who believed in them as much as she did.

> The content of the sessions was labor market oriented, and this peer aide was conscientious about giving the participants a better basis to compete for jobs. She had a warm, giving quality; she, too, opened her heart and home to the members.

* * *

Toward the close of the project, the staff became tirelessly involved in bringing the program to a proper closing, making home visits, phone calls, and putting out mailings as part of the post-testing process. As a result, they were able to retrieve 49 sample group members and 47 members of the control group.

There were many expressions of sorrow as the program drew to a close in August 1974. There was also a realization that the experience had made a considerable impact on the participants' lives.

As indicated, the groups varied and the differences among them appeared to be related to the internal dynamics and politics of each group, as well as to the functioning and characteristics of the aide. Some groups seem to have been marked by spirited involvement and closeness between participants and the peer aides from the start; others developed at a slower pace. As the program evolved, some of the latter showed solidarity and esprit de corps comparable to the groups that got off to early starts.

The peer aides' ability to make the young women feel at ease in new situations and to impress them with their interest in them, seemed to weigh heavily among the factors that affected the functioning of the groups. Among other things, the peer aides invited young women to their homes for meals and weekend sleep-ins, accompanied groups to the theatre and other events in the metropolitan area, made hospital visits, attended weddings, and sent gifts to newly born children.

Most importantly, peer aides accompanied young women and prompted them to follow up on available job leads.

In order to make certain that the labor market orientation and goals of the project remain foremost, the peer aide role was under continuous review and evaluation. Increasing emphasis was placed upon keeping program activities oriented to jobs and careers. This continuous review was important in view of the fact that the peer group activities themselves held the possibility of providing a kind of therapeutic satisfaction for some young women, and especially for those who were either not interested in employment, or who were not ready to cope with employment. The peer aides were the staff persons who had the most direct and continuing contacts with the young women, and they were able to affect directly the agendas and the activities of the group sessions; therefore the orientation and the supervision of the peer aides themselves was a matter of continuing importance.

# VI. EXPERIMENTAL PRECONDITIONS

In line with the original purposes of this experimental demonstration project, two conditions must have been satisfied for the project to be successful. First, the experimental and control groups must have been comparable. Second, the program must have been sufficiently attractive to sustain reasonable levels of attendance, for otherwise it could not be said that the experimental group was exposed to the experimental variable (that is, to the peer group mechanism and related program processes).

## Comparability of Experimental and Control Groups

An exhaustive investigation of the experimental and control groups reveals an extraordinary degree of comparability. Occupational and educational differences between the experimental and control groups uncovered at the close of the project might therefore be attributed to the demonstration program with a high degree of certainty. The processes by which the demonstration population was recruited, and then assigned to the experimental and control groups are described below. Included are the variables compared and the resulting tables.

As described earlier, in January 1973, the Northside Center for Child Development initiated activities to obtain a pool from which to draw the experimental and control groups. The pool was to include young women between the ages of 16 and 19 years who were not working and who were interested in obtaining work. It was necessary at the beginning to recruit a pool from which the two groups could be selected so that pre- and post-test comparisons could be made. A comprehensive survey of sources for recruitment within one of the largest urban communities and labor markets in the country was undertaken. The recruitment and selection processes were spread out over a period of several months; they began long before the official start of the project. They involved many visits, telephone calls, and letters to community groups, recreation centers, and social agencies.

As noted in Chapter IV, 124 participants had been recruited by June 1973 as a result of activities and recruiting efforts in the community that began in January. Analysis of the school status of the first pool of young women revealed that 114 were in school and ten out of school. Fifteen-year-olds were included in the pool at first because their sixteenth birthdays would have occurred within six months from the recruitment date. After a review, these younger applicants, as well as students in the ninth and tenth grades, were eliminated from the pool. Efforts were then made to obtain a better balance between the numbers of in-school and out-of-school participants. Community groups and social agencies were visited again. This second effort resulted in a better balance in the proportions of young women in the in-school and the out-of-school categories.

| | In School | Out of School | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Number recruited in first pool | 114 | 10 | 124 |
| Additional numbers recruited | 15 | 35 | 50 |
| Numbers placed in Experimental and Control Groups | 66 | 37 | 103 |

Many young women in school responded because they thought "unemployed" meant not working but interested in part-time and after-school jobs and in temporary summer or holiday jobs, as well as having an active interest in careers. The name used for the program component, Careers Project, helped highlight the career feature. The expressed interest in work was thought to justify inclusion of in-school adolescents in the project. Characteristically, the out-of-school young women were interested in regular and permanent jobs and in careers, as well as in temporary and seasonal jobs.

The young women recruited for the pool were given tests at three group sessions during the preparatory phase between May and August 1973. Each participant was assigned a code number according to the date of her recruitment.

The choices of persons for the demonstration group and for the control group were made following the administration of the pre-test series; a stratified random sampling procedure was used to make selections. The data sheets were first sorted by single years--16 through 19. Those in each age group were classified by school status and grade in school. Listings for each group were made according to the numerical order of their code numbers. Assignments to the experimental group and to the control group were made on an alternative basis.

When persons were eliminated from one of the groups, because of getting a summer job, for example, replacements were drawn from a reserve control group composed of those not assigned to either group. In order to provide a better balance between the numbers of in-school and out-of-school young women, out-of-school young women were over-selected. The experimental group consisted of 51 persons, and the control group of 52 persons. Table 3 shows their distribution by school status.

## TABLE 3

### Age and School Status of Participants

| | High School Dropouts | | All Others | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age | Experi-mental | Control | Experi-mental | Control | Experi-mental | Control |
| 16 yrs. | 8 | 5 | 12 | 12 | 20 | 17 |
| 17 " | 3 | 4 | 11 | 11 | 14 | 15 |
| 18 " | 5 | 4 | 8 | 8 | 13 | 12 |
| 19 " | 4 | 4 | - | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| Total | 20 | 17 | 31 | 35 | 51 | 52 |

A key variable used in measure the effects of the program was the occupational aspiration level; this was determined from responses to the Frost Questionnaire administered at the pre-test phase. The participants were asked what kind of job they would like to have in an organization which they then knew about.

## TABLE 4

### Level of Program Occupational Aspiration of Participants

| Pre-Program Occupational Aspiration Level | Experimental Group | Control Group | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Levels 1 and 2 | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| Level 3 | 15 | 10 | 25 |
| Level 4 | 9 | 15 | 24 |
| Levels 5 and 6 | 15 | 18 | 33 |
| Total | 45 | 48 | 93 |
| No response | 6 | 4 | 10 |

$$X^2 = 2.774$$

$$X^2\ .05\ (3) = 7.81$$

In this and subsequent chapters extensive use is made of the chi-square test. The results of the test are best seen as suggestive, rather than having reliable statistical significance, because of the small size of the sample.

The two groups were not significantly different in terms of occupational aspiration levels.[1] Future changes in the levels of this variable can, therefore, be related to experiences during the demonstration phase of the program.

Another set of characteristics considered critical to the employability of the young women includes basic academic skills. Chi square measures were applied to test scores in three areas.

1. The WRAT Word Recognition Test[2]

TABLE 5

Pre-Program Word Recognition Scores of Participants

| Pre-Program WRAT Word Recognition Test Score | Experimental Group | Control Group | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Under 8.0th grade | 6 | 11 | 17 |
| 8.0th grade and over | 45 | 41 | 86 |
| Total | 51 | 52 | 103 |

$$X^2 = 1.652$$

$$X^2\ .95\ (1) = 3.841$$

A chi square test was made for WRAT word recognition scores at the under 8.0 grade level and at the 8.0 and over grade level. There was no significant difference in the distribution of word recognition scores between the two groups.

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[1] The responses were rated on the basis of a seven-level occupational scale for rating socioeconomic status developed by Martin Hamburger. Through the use of this equal interval scale, values can be treated statistically. These included levels of occupational aspiration and of academic skill. For this test, levels 1 and 2, and levels 5 and 6 were combined to produce 4 rows. Chi square for this variable = 2.77. For three degrees of freedom, chi square at the five percent level of significance = 7.81.

[2] This is a subtest of the Wide Range Achievement Test, authored by J. R. Jastak and S. R. Jastak. The Manual states that the scores on the WRAT subjects, if valid, should show clear-cut variations in the level of achievement of groups differing in general ability, educational proficiency, and cultural opportunity.

2. The WRAT Level II arithmetic sub-test was also given during the pre-test. Four grade levels were used for this test, under 4.0, 4.0-5.9, 6.0-7.9, and 8.0 and over. There was no significant difference between the study and the control groups for this skill.

TABLE 6

Pre-Program Arithmetic Test Scores of Participants

| Pre-Program WRAT Arithmetic Test Score | Experimental Group | Control Group | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Under 4.0th grade | 14 | 12 | 26 |
| 4.0 - 5.9 grade | 11 | 11 | 22 |
| 6.0 - 7.9 grade | 21 | 25 | 46 |
| 8.0th grade and over | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| Total | 51 | 52 | 103 |

$X^2 = .582$

$X^2 .95 (3) = 7.81$

3. A vocabulary test derived from the Adult Basic Learning Exam, Level III was used.

TABLE 7

Pre-Program Vocabulary Test Scores for Participants

| Pre-Program ABLE Vocabulary Test Score | Experimental Group | Control Group | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Under 6.0th grade | 21 | 20 | 41 |
| 6.0 - 7.9 grade | 7 | 5 | 12 |
| 8.0th grade and over | 23 | 26 | 49 |
| Total | 51 | 51 | 102 |

$X^2 = .542$

$X^2 .95 = 5.99$

No statistically significant difference in the vocabulary test scores was found between the experimental and control groups.[1]

Two other variables reflecting work and personal experiences of the young women were tested. These are previous work experience (inclusive of summer jobs or temporary work) and motherhood status. No statistically significant differences were found.

TABLE 8

Previous Work Experience of Participants

| Previous Work Experience | Experimental Group | Control Group | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | 36 | 36 | 72 |
| No | 14 | 16 | 30 |
| Total | 50 | 52 | 102 |

$$\chi^2 = .095$$
$$\chi^2\ .95\ (1) = 3.841$$

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[1] Authors are Bjorn Karlsen, Richard Madden, Eric F. Gardner. Publisher: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich. ABLE is described as a battery of tests designed to measure the level of achievement among adults. Every effort is made to present content and language relevant to the experiences of the poorly educated adult. These were developed around basic comptetencies necessary for productive adult life, as well as for further education for which high school students are presumably prepared. With regard to the vocabulary test, the ABLE manual states, "The student's vocabulary is assessed independent of reading ability, since the vocabulary test is dictated in its entirety...in the poorly educated adult, the auditory vocabulary is typically greater than his speaking or reading vocabularies."

## TABLE 9

### Distribution of Participants by Motherhood Status

| Pre-Program Motherhood Status | Experimental Group | Control Group | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | 15 | 15 | 30 |
| No | 35 | 36 | 71 |
| Total | 50 | 51 | 101 |

$$X^2 = .005$$
$$X^2\ .95\ (1) = 3.841$$

As these statistical measures reveal, the experimental and control groups were clearly compatible at the beginning of the demonstration program, thus satisfying the first of the necessary experimental conditions.

### Exposure to Experimental Variable

Obviously, if those assigned to the experimental group failed to attend program activities with any degree of regularity, the experiment could not be said to have occurred. We, therefore, conducted an intensive investigation of the attendance rates to insure that exposure to the experimental variable was in fact taking place. The results of that investigation follow.

Table 10 describes attendance of experimental group young women at scheduled group sessions for the period July 1973 through June 1974. Each line represents one person. They are arranged in terms of decreasing percentages of attendance. Column 1 provides the total possible number of sesions an individual might have attended. Column 2 provides the number of sessions actually attended. Column 4, the number of runs, gives information which is not indicated by the attendance rate. Runs are "bunching" patterns, i.e., the fact that attendance or absence occurred over consecutive meetings. If a very few runs occur, that indicates that there exists some consistency of attendance or of absence, or possibly a few major streaks of one or the other. A great many runs indicate short, periodic fluctuations in attendance.

One person attended every session possible for her to attend. The median percentage of attendance was 51.3. One in four attended 70 percent or more of the times possible for her, and one in four attended one-fifth or less of the times possible for her.

## TABLE 10

### Attendance at Group Sessions
### July 1973 - June 1974

| Sessions Attended | | | Number of Runs |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total Possible | Number | Percent | |
| 42 | 42 | 100.0 | 1 |
| 42 | 41 | 97.6 | 3 |
| 42 | 40 | 95.2 | 5 |
| 42 | 39 | 92.8 | 6 |
| 44 | 39 | 88.6 | 5 |
| 44 | 39 | 88.6 | 10 |
| 43 | 37 | 86.0 | 9 |
| 44 | 37 | 84.0 | 15 |
| 43 | 35 | 81.3 | 8 |
| 43 | 34 | 79.0 | 12 |
| 44 | 33 | 75.0 | 16 |
| 42 | 31 | 73.8 | 13 |
| 42 | 29 | 69.0 | 18 |
| 42 | 28 | 66.6 | 9 |
| 42 | 28 | 66.6 | 19 |
| 44 | 29 | 65.9 | 19 |
| 43 | 28 | 65.1 | 17 |
| 42 | 27 | 64.2 | 16 |
| 42 | 27 | 64.2 | 17 |
| 44 | 28 | 63.6 | 16 |
| 40 | 25 | 62.5 | 16 |
| 44 | 25 | 56.8 | 13 |
| 42 | 23 | 54.7 | 17 |
| 42 | 22 | 52.3 | 33 |
| 37 | 19 | 51.3 | 19 |
| 43 | 22 | 51.1 | 13 |
| 42 | 21 | 50.0 | 17 |
| 37 | 18 | 48.6 | 16 |
| 34 | 15 | 44.1 | 10 |
| 37 | 16 | 43.2 | 18 |
| 42 | 18 | 42.8 | 22 |
| 34 | 14 | 41.1 | 14 |
| 42 | 16 | 38.0 | 12 |
| 42 | 16 | 38.0 | 19 |
| 43 | 14 | 32.5 | 9 |
| 43 | 14 | 32.5 | 15 |
| 42 | 13 | 30.9 | 10 |
| 42 | 11 | 26.1 | 12 |

(Table 10 continues on p. 83)

## TABLE 10 (continued)

### Attendance at Group Sessions
### July 1973 - June 1974

| Sessions Attended | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total Possible | Number | Percent | Number of Runs |
| 37 | 8 | 21.6 | 9 |
| 43 | 9 | 20.9 | 9 |
| 37 | 7 | 18.9 | 8 |
| 43 | 8 | 18.6 | 8 |
| 44 | 7 | 15.9 | 8 |
| 42 | 6 | 14.2 | 8 |
| 44 | 6 | 13.6 | 6 |
| 42 | 5 | 11.9 | 4 |
| 42 | 5 | 11.9 | 8 |
| 37 | 4 | 10.8 | 7 |
| 37 | 3 | 8.1 | 6 |
| 37 | 2 | 5.4 | 3 |
| 37 | 2 | 5.4 | 2 |

These data reveal that the essential experimental preconditions were met. The experimental and control groups were comparable, and the attendance patterns were sufficiently high for exposure to the experimental variable to occur. We turn now to an analysis of the effects of the demonstration program itself on the attitudes and behavior of the participants.

## VII. PROGRAM EFFECTS: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

A straightforward but broad-gauged objective of this project, as stated in the original proposal, was "to measure the effect of a peer group mechanism on the employment, life adjustment, motivation and self-esteem of disadvantaged, unemployed, unskilled minority teenaged females." The peer group mechanism was to be treated as an independent variable by comparing changes in attitudes and behaviors of those in the experimental group who took part in or were exposed to the peer group process with the attitudes and behavior of those in the control group who did not establish or interact in a peer group relationship.

### Differentiating the Peer Group Mechanism and Other Variables

As described earlier, an essential feature of the group process was the leadership role to be assumed by the peer aide. With her assistance, the "job-market orientation" contemplated in the experimental design was to be developed with each group. This was to be accomplished by such means as organizing special meetings that were aimed at expanding participants' knowledge about the job-market and at heightening motivations for helping to develop and implement individualized job search plans and providing "special tasks and problem-solving activities"--"assignments... related to developing personal skills which would enhance... employability."

As the Careers Project evolved in practice, however, the actual content of those program inputs to which those in the experimental group were exposed included two modes of direct intervention by the Northside Center staff, as corollaries and supports of the peer group process. One of these additional modes was a continuing effort to locate jobs for experimental group members and to have them placed in those jobs. The second was the provision of special tutoring and skills-remediation for some of those in the experimental group who were deemed to be deficient in basic verbal and/or mathematical skills.

Job assistance and tutoring.--From the standpoint of the analyst who seeks not only to learn what a program's effects might have been, but also to find out what specific parts of the program probably generated those effects, it is important to recognize that neither the "job-locating-and-placement" efforts nor the skills-remediation help provided by Northside were necessarily dependent in any way on the program's "peer group" operations. That is, whether or not any of the experimental group women had ever met one another or interacted with one another as members of experimental peer groups, any or all of them could still have received either the program's "job placement" assistance or its "skills-remediation/tutorial" help or both.

Therefore, it is also important to acknowledge at the outset that either of these additional forms of programmed intervention could, possibly, have generated its own effects, produced its own changes in the behaviors or attitudes of experimental group members, *independent* of any effects that the "interactive peer group mechanism" might have brought about.

*Gratitude toward Northside Center.*--Even if there had been no introduction into the Careers Project of job-placement, skills-remediation or other additional forms of programmed intervention--so that, in this sense, the "peer group mechanism" had remained a "pure" experimental variable--there could still have been one further possible cause *other* than "peer group interaction" of any program effects observed. This variable might have been a state of mind, growing out of gratitude toward Northside Center for help given. Insofar as the Careers Project succeeded in bettering the life of an individual member of the experimental group (for example, by giving her access to important new information, ideas, or experiences) in ways that went beyond her own capabilities for helping herself, this fact alone *could* conceivably have generated changes in her attitudes and behavior, *solely by virtue of her perception of Northside Center as a champion of her interests*, and independently of the amount or quality of any interaction with other peer group members in which she might have engaged.

The point of calling attention to "other" potential sources of program effects is not to downplay the possible contributions or importance of "peer group interaction" in producing them. It is, instead, to indicate plainly two things: first, that the experiment, *as actually conducted*, has not been (and perhaps never realistically could have been expected to be) kept sufficiently sterile, sufficiently free of various non-"*peer group*" forms of institutional intervention, to permit the "pure" test of the "peer group"-variable that was contemplated in the original experimental design; and second, it is therefore necessary to consider separately the question of what effects the program as a whole might have had, on the one hand, and of what specific contribution "peer group interaction"--or, for that matter, any other specified facet of the program--might have made to those effects, on the other.

### The Aims and Limitations of the Quantitative Analysis

In part, owing to limitations on the time available for analyzing data, nothing like a conclusive weighing of the evidence with regard to every important question about program effects has been attempted. Priorities have been assigned to questions and choices have been made as to which questions about program effects should be answered comprehensively, briefly, or not at all. In general, attention will be given to the following five outcome categories:

(1) Employment rates and rates of job-seeking;

(2) Rates of remaining in school versus rates of dropping out;

(3) Attitudes toward jobs, job opportunities, education, and careers;

(4) Scores on tests of mathematical and verbal ability; and

(5) Scores on personality tests.

Additional considerations that affected the choice of questions for examination were, first, whether the discussion seemed likely to provide information that might aid in the formulation of manpower policy; and, secondarily, whether there was a chance to add to knowledge about the way in which minority young people in the United States make occupational and educational choices.

## Characteristics of Members of the Experimental and Control Groups, July 1973

The procedures by which young women were recruited for this study and then allocated to the experimental and control groups, as well as the results of tests performed in order to verify that the E and C groups were sufficiently comparable, have been described earlier. For this discussion, a review of some of the characteristics of the women at the beginning of the program year will be useful.

For purposes of this quantitative analysis, the total number of women in each group was determined as follows:

| | Experimental Group | Control Group |
|---|---|---|
| Total N's in July 1973 | 51 | 52 |
| Minus persons for whom some July 1973 data were not available | - 2 | - 1 |

|  | Experimental Group | Control Group |
|---|---|---|
| Minus persons for whom July 1974 data were not available | - 2 | - 5 |
| Plus one person added from reserve pool | (0) | + 1 |
| Total N's in July 1974 | 47 | 47 |

Age.--Ages ranged from 16 to 19 (although two of the C's turned out to be just over 20), with 16-, 17-, 18-, and 19-year-olds represented in roughly similar proportions. E's and C's both had median ages of 17 years and some months, although E's as a whole were slightly younger than C's (e.g., 16-year-olds comprised 34 percent of the E group, 26 percent of the C group (including the two women who were just over age 20).)

Marital status.--Virtually all E's (98 percent) and C's (94 percent) were unmarried.

Children.--About three out of every ten had children (E's, 32 percent; C's, 28 percent); most of these young women had one child, a few had two.

Recipients of public assistance.--In response to the question (asked in July 1973), "Are you or any member of your family living with you in receipt of public assistance?", 35 percent of E's and 45 percent of C's answered affirmatively.

Previously employed.--Most E's (68 percent) and C's (77 percent) had been employed at one time or another before July 1973.

Schooling.--Almost none had graduated from high school by July 1973 (E's, 4 percent; C's, 7 percent). Just under half of both E's and C's had last attended either the 11th or 12th grades (mostly the 11th). Just under half of both E's and C's had last been in either the 9th or 10th grades (mostly the 10th).

Date last attended classes.--Just over half had completed the spring 1973 term (E's, 55 percent; C's, 59 percent), and thus could validly be regarded as still being "in school." About one-sixth had enrolled for classes at the beginning of the school year (September 1972), but had dropped out during the academic year; the remaining fourth or so had been out of school altogether for at least a year or more.

The foregoing brief skecth serves a double purpose. First, it tends to confirm that the E and C groups were generally similar in composition, apart from the slight tendency toward younger ages among E's. Equally important, it indicates that the population of young women recruited for this study was not uniformly "disadvantaged" in their life-circumstances. Although some three out of every ten were unmarried mothers, seven out of ten were not. Although one-third plus were recipients of (or in households receiving) public assistance, the majority were not. Although a substantial minority had either left school long since or had dropped out during the school year just ended, a majority were still in school.

This heterogeneity must be taken into account in attempting to evaluate the Career Project's impact--particularly as it concerns the distinction between being "in school" and "out of school"--if the requisite statistical comparisons and the conclusions to be based on them are not distorted or invalid. The next section presents evidence to show why the heterogeneity of this population is important in this analysis.

## School Status and Work Status As Differentiating Factors

As envisioned at the inception of this study, the sample for the project was to consist largely of teenagers who, in addition to being unemployed at the time of recruitment, had also left school. The hope was to attract many who either had never sought work or who had given up seeking it.

Despite intensive efforts during the recruitment phase to locate and attract women with these characteristics, the pool of those who were ultimately recruited (and who were later allocated by the stratified sampling procedure to the experimental and control groups) included more "in-school" than "out-of-school" women and more persons who had actively looked for work than had not.

Thus, by one measure, "in-school" women comprised 68 percent and 74 percent, respectively, of the study's experimental and control groups--or, about two or three "in-school" persons for every person "out-of-school." The specific criterion chosen here for ascertaining in which category a woman belonged was whether or not she had enrolled for classes in September 1973 (the second month after the program year had begun). This is not the same as the criterion, cited earlier, "Date last attended classes." The latter data were applicable to educational status at the beginning of Summer 1973, and show lower proportions of "in-school" women than the 68 percent who enrolled in September 1973.

Thus, women who had apparently looked for work before joining the project comprised 60 and 66 percent, respectively of the E and C groups--or, about two who apparently had looked for every one who had not. The word "apparently" is used here because no direct question was asked, at the beginning of the program year, as to whether a person had or had not sought employment. Instead, the figures cited are estimates based on the responses given to a series of *indirect* questions in the "Questionnaire on Work and Occupational Aspirations" that each woman filled out at the program year's commencement. Among this series of questions was:

> If you have looked for a job, what different places did you go to for information? Did you follow through?

Those who answered any of the questions in this series affirmatively were deemed to have looked for employment before joining the project.

It is not the intent here to discuss comprehensively why the sample did not include larger proportions than it did of "out-of-school" and "had-not-looked-for-work" women; even though that question is an interesting and important one in its own right.[1] Another point more immediately at issue grows out of the fact that *there is reason to suppose that "in-school" and "out-of-school" women in the sample tended to view job problems, education, careers, and related matters in fundamentally different ways, at least before any of them had begun to participate in the Careers Project; and that, analogously, those who had looked for work tended to differ importantly in their outlooks from those who had not. Insofar as this was so, it is important to treat statistical results for such distinguishable types of young women separately.* To do otherwise would be to risk obscuring whatever unique effects the Careers Project might have had for any *specific* type of person. This could occur, for example, were results for the several different types to be combined into single, aggregate averages, one for all in the E group, and another for all in the C group. Some of the reasons for maintaining these distinctions in the analysis are noted below.

> *Being "in-school" vs. being "out-of-school."*--Young people "in" school are by definition still actively striving to win educational credentials for themselves; those "out" of school are not actively pursuing formal education (at least temporarily) as a route to bettering their life situation. This fact, by itself, implies that persons in in- and out-of-school groups probably

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[1] A partial answer to that question may lie in the way in which recruitment for the project necessarily had to be conducted. Recruitment depended in some measure on friendship networks--the source for locating and bringing in later recruits--and many such friendships were school-related.

diverged with respect to their time perspectives on entry into the labor market.

For the young woman who is "in" school, the logic of her situation dictates that job opportunities as may await her later, after she has won her diploma or degree, that are most important to her. Whatever job she may seek or obtain now takes second place in her studies. For the "out-of-school," unemployed person, by contrast, there is no "later" in this sense. If she desires to become employed at all, then her concern must necessarily center on the job opportunities that currently exist.

There is some evidence concerning these variations in time perspectives expressed in the differing kinds of jobs, part-time or full-time, that those in the study sample hoped the Careers Project could help them obtain. Interview materials also reveal that young women joined the project with differing expectations regarding jobs and careers depending on their school status.

Further statistical analysis of responses to attitude questions in the July 1973 questionnaire provides evidence of yet another kind of difference between in-school and out-of-school women; their dissimilar levels of optimism and pessimism about their chances for ever obtaining skilled jobs. This analysis was undertaken in order to determine whether all of the women, regardless of their school status, tended to take a pessimistic view of their prospects, by virtue both of being black and also of living in a ghetto community with especially high unemployment rates; or whether, to the contrary, school status would prove to be the crucial indicator, if not the direct qualifier, of expectations about future opportunities.

The idea was to compare the responses of young women in one school status or the other to every item in the July 1973 questionnaire that might in any way serve as a projective test of her feelings of optimism or anxiety about her future possibilities. There were five items that seemed to fit this need:

(1) Do you think you could ever get it (i.e., "any job at all in a company...(that you)...would like to have...if you could...")?

(2) Do you think you could ever get this kind of work (i.e., an "occupation (you) would...choose... if you had the chance to go into any kind of work you wanted, say five years from now...")?

(Checklist answer-categories provided were: Very likely, somewhat likely, 50-50 chance, somewhat likely, very unlikely.)

Items (3) to (5) below were all part of a battery of questions that was prefaced by the general instruction:

> "First read each sentence. Then check the one (answer)... you most closely agree with."

(3) There is no use in training blacks for better jobs because most white employers would not hire them anyway.

(4) In this country most people do not want to see blacks move up to better jobs.

(5) Even if I could do more skilled work than I do now, I would not get a chance to do it.

(Checklist answers provided were: Agree very much, Agree a little, Disagree a little, Disagree very much.)

Table 11 shows that on each of four different items, appreciably fewer in-school than out-of-school women gave pessimistic answers. The disparity between the proportions of the two types of persons who answered pessimistically on at least three of the items is at least as important: 28 percent of the in-schoolers answered pessimistically, compared to 63 percent of the out-of-schoolers.

These results leave little doubt, therefore, that within the population recruited for the Careers Project, a tendency to doubt that one might be able to "make it" was highly associated with being out of school. Among women who were still in school, most regarded the future with hope.

This being so, one would have to anticipate that the Careers Project, if it had any impact at all on outlooks, might have affected those out of school differently from those who were still in school.

Having sought employment vs. not having done so.--The idea that the working-age sector of the United States population usually includes some proportion of unemployed individuals who are too discouraged about their prospects to persist in looking for work is hardly a new one. That idea has particular force in a study such as this one pertaining as it does to a population that might be characterized by as much as 30-to-40 percent unemployment even in "good" times.

## TABLE 11

### Percentages of Women Who Gave Relatively Pessimistic Responses to Five Questions (July 1973) Concerning Future Job Opportunities, According to Whether Enrolled for Classes in September 1973 or Not

| | In-School (Enrolled September 1973) (N = 67) | Out-of-School (Not Enrolled (September 1973) (N = 27) |
|---|---|---|
| (1) Whether could get one's preferred kind of job "in a company"; PERCENT WHO GAVE ANY RESPONSE OTHER THAN "VERY..." OR "SOMEWHAT LIKELY"... | 46% | 74% |
| (2) What could get one's preferred kind of work "5 years from now"; PERCENT WHO GAVE ANY RESPONSE OTHER THAN "VERY..." OR "SOMEWHAT LIKELY"... | 52% | 52% |
| (3) No use training blacks, whites wouldn't hire; PERCENT WHO ANSWERED "AGREE VERY MUCH" OR "...A LITTLE" | 27% | 52% |
| (4) Most in this country don't want blacks to have better jobs; PERCENT WHO ANSWERED "AGREE VERY MUCH" | 33% | 59% |
| (5) Even if had more skills, wouldn't get a chance to use them; PERCENT WHO ANSWERED "AGREE VERY MUCH" OR "...A LITTLE" | 33% | 44% |
| (6) PERCENT WHO RESPONDED AS ABOVE, i.e., PESSIMISTICALLY, TO AT LEAST THREE OF THE FIVE ITEMS | 28% | 63% |

From this perspective, then, there is some basis for asking whether those in the study population who had not looked for jobs before coming to the Careers Project might not view their personal chances in the world of work differently from those young women who had. A comparison of the responses of these two types to the same five "projective test" questions discussed earlier showed this to be the case--the persons who "had not looked" were more pessimistic, at least when they also happened to be young women who were out of school.

More specifically, Table 12 leads to several pertinent conclusions. First, among those who were still in school, the ones who had not sought employment were no more often pessimistic about their chances (but were even slightly less often so, apart from their responses to items 3 and 4) than in-schoolers who had looked for jobs. Thus, for in-school young women, pessimism and optimism were not associated with whether they had looked for work. For them, "not looking" probably reflected something quite different from despair at not being able to find a job; it may simply have meant that they were unwilling to take too much time away from studies in order to hunt for work (especially if they were able to get by financially without having to find a job).

For out-of-schoolers, on the other hand, the picture that Table 12 presents is generally different. "Not having looked for a job" if one had left school evidently did tend to reflect discouragement at apparently bleak prospects, for these young women were consistently (except on item 1) more often pessimistic than persons who had looked for jobs.

In sum, Table 12 seems to show that:

(1) Of the two factors, "being in or out of school" and "having sought or not having sought a job," the former was by far the more important in determining how a young woman saw her future;

(2) It was young women who were characterized by both of the attributes, "out of school" and "not having sought work," who most often gave negative assessments of their futures;

(3) It was among them, and only among them, that this state of mind was a usual one (since as many as 73 percent, eight of the eleven, exhibited it).

## TABLE 12

### Percentages of Women Who Gave Relatively Pessimistic Responses to Five Questions (July 1973) Concerning Future Job Opportunities, Both According to Whether Had Looked for Work or Not and Whether Enrolled for Classes in September 1973 or Not

| | In-School (Enrolled September 1973) | | Out-of-School (Not Enrolled September 1973) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Had Looked for Work (N=43) | Had Not (N=24) | Had Looked for Work (N=16) | Had Not (N=11) |
| (1) Could get job "in a company"; PERCENT RESPONDING OTHER THAN "VERY..." OR "SOMEWHAT LIKELY" | 49% | 42% | 75% | 73% |
| (2) Could get preferred work "in 5 years"; PERCENT RESPONDING OTHER THAN "VERY..." OR "SOMEWHAT LIKELY" | 56% | 46% | 38% | 73% |
| (3) No use training blacks, white wouldn't hire; PERCENT "AGREE VERY MUCH" OR "...A LITTLE" | 23% | 33% | 50% | 55% |
| (4) Most in this country don't want better jobs for blacks; PERCENT "AGREE VERY MUCH" | 33% | 33% | 56% | 64% |
| (5) Even if had more skills, no chance to use them; PERCENT "AGREE VERY MUCH" OR "...A LITTLE" | 35% | 29% | 38% | 55% |
| (6) PERCENT WHO RESPONDED AS ABOVE, i.e., PESSIMISTICALLY, TO AT THREE OF FIVE ITEMS | 33% | 21% | 56% | 73% |

The earlier MARC study from which the Careers Project derived posed the following questions, among others, about black teenagers in urban poverty neighborhoods: How many of these girls are "losers" who have given up hope of bettering their conditions? No general answer to that question can be offered here; but it is a useful one to ask about the composition of the population of black teenagers who were recruited for the Careers Project. If the small group of out-of-school women who had not looked for work, whose pessimistic outlooks have been described, can be regarded as approximating "losers," then *"losers" comprise a relatively small proportion, about 12 percent or only one-eighth, of this study's E and C groups*.

* * *

Because the distinctions between young women who were in school or out, and between those who had looked for work and had not looked for work prior to the beginning of the program year are of such importance, these distinctions have been used throughout the analysis, together with the distinction between E and C. Comparisons have first been carried out between all E group women (N=47) and C group women (N-47). Then these same comparisons have been repeated separately for each of the following three categories:

| | E | C |
|---|---|---|
| (1) In school | $N_E=32$ | $N_C=35$ |
| (2) Out of school, had looked for work before 7/73 | $N_E= 9$ | $N_C= 7$ |
| (3) Out of school, had not looked | $N_E= 6$ | $N_C= 5$ |

This is not to say that, in the reporting of data in succeeding chapters, results for all three of these breakdowns will be presented separately. On the contrary, unless the analysis for a given data-area revealed results that were of special interest or importance, only the overall E-versus-C result will usually be mentioned.

The following chapter compares experimental and control groups on employment variables: rates of becoming employed during the program year, July 1973 to July 1974; characteristics of the jobs they obtained; and their job-seeking behavior at program year's end. E and C employment patterns did differ, and evidence is presented to show what specific aspects of the Careers Project's operations gave rise to the differences that were found to have occurred.

In a succeeding chapter attitudinal data pertaining to occupational and educational aspirations, plans, and related matters among E and C group members are compared. Rates of remaining in school versus dropping out are also discussed briefly. With respect to some areas in which attitudinal differences between E's and C's were evident, some conjectures are offered as to what aspects of the program might have produced them.

# VIII. IMPACT ON EMPLOYMENT AND JOB SEEKING

Among the many different aspects of "work-relevant" attitudes and behavior with which this study deals, the availability of employment is central. One of the critical problems that typically beset manpower training programs of the 1960's was the severe attrition or drop-out rates among trainees. A case can be made that much of the attrition was due to disillusionment. When promised jobs were not forthcoming, trainees who had looked forward to them lost interest in training or study.

In short, the effectiveness of any program which seeks to alter the thinking or values or behavior of unemployed young people may rest, to a substantial degree, on whether the trainees obtain jobs, either during or shortly following participation in the program. For purposes of this discussion, the matter can be put in the form of questions about whether or not "having a job" might have generated its own "independent" effects on the behavior and attitudes of the young women in the experimental group. Specifically, did having a job during the program year affect outlooks importantly? If the Careers Project itself exerted any influence on orientations toward work, did it do so _only_ or primarily among those in the experimental group who had obtained jobs, or also among those in the experimental group who did _not_ become employed during the program year.

The chapter following this one will attempt to shed some light on those questions. First, however, it will be desirable to lay the groundwork for that discussion by ascertaining what proportions of the young women did in fact obtain jobs during the program year, what sorts of employment they obtained, and what role(s) the Careers Project played in their becoming employed. This chapter addresses itself to these questions.

## Employment and Characteristics of Jobs

The overall rate of employment for young women after July 1973, the beginning of the program year, indicates what the rate for the experimental group would perhaps have been had there not been a Careers Project. Of the 47 individuals in the control group, _36 percent_, or scarcely more than one out of three, became employed at least once; in contrast, _85 percent_ of those in the experimental group held at least one job. ("No more than one job" was the general rule for both C's and E's--82 percent of employed C's and 60 percent of employed E's were hired just once.)

There were also some differences between C's and E's as to the _kinds_ of jobs each group held, although they are minor compared with the differences in employment rates.

**Variations in task-content of jobs and socio-economic status levels.** There was considerable diversity in the task-content of jobs held, even among such "entry-level" jobs as those under consideration here; consequently, an ordering framework for comparing jobs is required. In order to compare jobs according to broad skill variations, it is necessary to classify them in terms of "socio-economic status" categories by means of a seven-level occupational-rating scale.

Level-one occupations, at the upper extreme of this scale, include physician, lawyer, school superintendent or high school principal, and business or government executive in a large-scale enterprise having wide responsibilities and many subordinates. Level-seven types of work, at the lower end of the scale, include domestic servant and dishwasher in a commercial establishment. Formal criteria that are used for rating purposes, in order to decide at what level to classify any specific job, included amount of education required, scope of responsibilities involved, putative income, and "prestige."[1]

Both C and E jobs[2] during the program year ranged from levels four and seven, and were distributed in the following proportions (Table 13):

Such jobs as young women in either group were able to obtain during the year were concentrated on level five (e.g., typist, sales clerk, receptionist, file clerk) and level six (unskilled clerical worker, hospital aide, counter girl, day care center worker). There were slight

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[1] The rating scale was devised and criteria for its use proposed by Martin Hamburger ("Revised Occupational Scale for Rating Socio-Economic Status," mimeographed, undated). Hamburger described his scale as " 'a revision of the Warner revision of the Edwards Classification,' relying heavily on the evidence which indicates the very high correlations between occupations and other criteria of social status." (Olivia Pleasants Frost, "A Study of the Effect of Training Upon the Level of Occupational Aspiration and Upon Attitudes Toward Work for a Group of Young Negro Men from Low-Income Families," Dissertation presented to the Faculty of the School of Education, Department of Human Relations, New York University, 1972; unpublished, p. 38; also pp. 37 and 142-49.)

[2] Jobs described here were always the last jobs held, in those instances where young women had been employed more than once.

## TABLE 13

### Socio-Economic Status Levels (According to the Hamburger Occupational-Rating Scale) of Last Job Obtained by Experimental and Control Group Women Between July 1973 and July 1974

| | Experimental Group | Control Group |
|---|---|---|
| Level Four (Examples: lab technician with two years training, steno, bookkeeper, cashier, teller)....... | 16% | 25% |
| Level Five (Examples: telephone operator, typist, receptionist, sales clerk, beautician)........................ | 46% | 31% |
| Level Six (Examples: clerical, tasks that involve only minimal skills, e.g., wrapping, envelope stuffing), sewing machine operator, hospital aide)............................ | 35% | 31% |
| Level Seven (Examples: maid, dishwasher, charwoman)................. | 3% | 13% |
| Totals | 100%<br>(N=37)* | 100%<br>(N=16)* |

differences between the jobs held by E's and C's. For one thing, proportionately fewer E's than C's managed to become employed in such relatively more desirable level four jobs as bank teller or cashier in a commercial establishment; for another thing, almost no E's but 13 percent of C's were only able to obtain "lowest rung," level seven jobs. But these small contrasts do not have any evident substantive or statistical significance.

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* Forty (rather than 37) E's and 17 (rather than 16) C's after July 1973, but a few of the employed did not provide specific enough information about their jobs to permit them to be rated on the seven-level scale.

Part-time versus full-time jobs.--Experimental group young women more often had full-time employment. Compared to C's, among whom 53 percent of job-holders worked at least 30 hours per week, 77 percent of the employed E's had "30-hours-plus" jobs. Conversely, quite a few of the employed C's--29 percent--worked under 20 hours per week, but only a handful of E's--8 percent--had jobs that involved so few hours.

Job duration.--Although E's more often managed to obtain full-time employment, their jobs were usually of much shorter duration than those held by C's. In particular, some 58 percent of employed E's, but just 25 percent of C's had worked on their last job for as little as one month or less by the July 1974 cut-off date; and, at the other extreme, just one out of every six E's, or 16 percent, had worked for more than six months, compared to about one out of every three C's, or 31 percent. However, these job-tenure data are partly a statistical artifact, a fortuitous by-product of the July 1974 cut-off date. The relative lengths of time worked might well have been different had the same data been collected after a longer time-lapse. Accordingly, not too much by way of conjecture about possible meanings of the E-versus-C differences in job duration can be derived from these data.

Yet, even with this qualification, one such inference does seem both permissible and appropriate.

Temporary jobs versus jobs of indefinite duration.--When jobs lasted no longer than one month, they were probably only temporary jobs to begin with. (Such would certainly seem to have been the likelihood for young women still working in July 1974 who had just been hired in June--presumably just for summer jobs.) However, when jobs continued longer, the women who held them had probably been hired with the understanding that, if both employee and employer proved satisfactory to one another, such jobs might continue indefinitely.

From this standpoint, then, the fact that a larger proportion of E's than C's had held very short-lived jobs, lasting one month or less, can be taken to imply that E's jobs were probably more often meant to be only temporary ones. This interpretation does seem called for by a closer look at the "duration" data in the context of the "in-school-versus-out-of-school" distinction that was elaborated earlier.

"In-school" young women as the principal holders of temporary jobs. It was primarily among "in-school" young women that the tendency toward jobs lasting relatively short periods of time occurred. Within the E group, for example, two out of every three in-school women, but under half of those out of school, reported that they had been employed in their last jobs for only a few weeks' duration.

In summary, as a whole, E in-schoolers tended to have jobs that were usually full-time ones, but their jobs usually did not last for more than a few weeks at a span. C in-schoolers, by contrast--when they were employed at all--usually had jobs that lasted longer, but their jobs entailed only part-time work each week. These were the primary differences between the types of jobs obtained by E's and C's who enrolled for classes in September 1973.

A comparable summing-up of job-type differences for out-of-school E's and C's is not feasible because so few out-of-school C's (only three) managed to become employed.

## Job-Placement Activities and Employment Rate

In addition to involvement in the peer group process, the Northside Center also conducted a job placement service which was described earlier. What part did each contribute to the high employment rate among the E group?

Availability of comparative data for the C group makes possible a straightforward way of estimating an answer to this question. First, we may assume that the C group's employment rate of 36 percent is a baseline, indicating the employment rate which the E group also would have attained had there been no intervention by the job-locating-and-placement staff at Northside Center. Second, if we then subtract that part of the E group's employment rate that can properly be attributed to Northside Center's job placement efforts, the part remaining in excess of 36 percent would represent other program effects, including the effect of involvement in peer groups.

How, then, is the "job placement" proportion of the group's employment rate to be established? Quite easily. The necessary measure inheres in the proportion of E group who, when answering the question, "How did you find this job?" (with reference to their "last" jobs held), credited the Northside Center. The number of E group young women crediting Northside (25) constituted 53 percent of the E group's 47 members.

Subtracting 53 percent from the overall 85 percent E employment rate, one finds that 32 percent of the E girls became employed "on their own" a proportion not in excess of the 36 percent "baseline" rate. The statistical evidence thus indicates the absence of any non-"job placement" portion of the E employment rate in excess of the C group rate. This requires a conclusion that *the experimental group's high rate of employment was entirely attributable to the role that Northside Center played in the job placement process*.

### Variations in Job-Placement Assistance Given to Members of "In School" and "Out of School" Experimental Groups

The presumption that in-school young people characteristically need and are interested in different types of jobs from their out-of-school counterparts has already received some attention. In that light, an examination of the employment data (July 1973 to July 1974) for in-school and out-of-school young women reveals some interesting contrasts.

Table 14 displays the pertinent data. It contains employment rates for E group members who were and were not in school, and then for the corresponding two types of C young women; the table also contains the rates broken down into portions separately applicable to those who obtained their jobs through Northside Center and to those who did not.

Results for the C group can once again usefully be regarded as a baseline in terms of which to gauge results for the E group. Thus, the fact that, among controls, young women out-of-school exhibited a lower rate of success in finding work (25 percent) than did their in-school opposite numbers (40 percent) lends support to the proposition that when left to their own resources in the competition for jobs, black adolescent young women who have left school without graduating have even less chance of being hired by an employer than do their opposite numbers who are not school dropouts.

A different pattern prevailed among E-group members, for they enjoyed Northside Center's help in seeking employment. Although both the 15 out-of-school and the 32 in-school E's experienced quite high rates of employment, the out-of-school rate (93) percent) was not less than the in-school figure (82 percent) and even, perhaps, represented a competitive edge for the out-of-school *E's* over *their* opposite numbers who were still in school. Moreover, the data suggest plainly that these differences between the C and E group patterns were attributable entirely to the Northside Center staff's job-placement initiatives, as the bottom line of Table 14 shows. By juxtaposing the percentages of E's who obtained jobs *without* assistance from Northside Center with the C group's employment rates, the "out-of-school" and "in-school" E proportions (20 percent and 33 percent, respectively) had almost identically the same relationship to one another as did the corresponding two C employment rates (25 and 40 percent). In short, just as among the C young women, out-of-school E's were even less successful in obtaining jobs when attempting to find

## TABLE 14

Whether Employed Between July 1973 and July 1974 and Whether Found Last Job Through Northside Center or Not; by Whether In or Out of School and by Whether in Experimental or Control Group

| EMPLOYMENT STATUS FROM 7/73 to 7/74 | EXPERIMENTAL GROUP | | CONTROL GROUP | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | In School (Enrolled 9/73) | Out of School (Not enrolled 9/73 or After | In School | Out of School |
| Not Employed | 19% | 7% | 60% | 75% |
| Employed, Found Job Through Northside Center | 44 | 73 | - | - |
| | 82 | 93 | 40 | 25 |
| Employed, Found Job Without Northside Center's Assistance | 38 | 20 | 40 | 25 |
| TOTALS | 101% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| | (N=32) | (N=15) | (N=39) | (N=12) |

them entirely through their own devices than were in-school E's who were on their own.

In the second place, the data show further that Northside Center's "job placement" activities, effective as they were in procuring employment for girls who were still *in* school, were far *more* effective (relatively) for the *out*-of-school young women. This is revealed in the two left-most columns of Table 14. Although almost as many "in school" E's found employment without Northside Center's intervention (38 percent) as were placed by the Northside Center staff (44 percent), fewer than *one-third* as many *out*-of-school E's succeeded in the absence of Northside Center's help (20 percent) as obtained placement through that staff's endeavors (73 percent):

> *Types of placement jobs for out-of-school and in-school members.* Apart from the greater frequency with which Northside Center placed out-of-school compared to in-school E group members, the kinds of jobs it found for those out-of-school also tended to differ from those found for in-school young women. Table 15 compares the characteristics of "last jobs" held by in- and out-of-school E's who obtained their jobs through Northside Center and of in- and out-of-school E's who became employed without Northside Center's assistance. The out-of-school jobs tended to be in higher SES categories, to be full-time more often, and to have been of longer duration (as of the July 1974 cut-off date) than those in which in-school E's had been placed.
>
> In summary:
>
> (1) Placement jobs tended to be "better," i.e., to be in higher socio-economic status categories, and also tended more often to be full time, than jobs found without Northside Center's intervention;
>
> (2) Placement jobs did not necessarily last longer than non-placement jobs;
>
> (3) As between in-school placement and out-of-school placement jobs, the latter were in all respects generally better.

## TABLE 15

### Percentages of "Experimental Group" Jobholders (July 1973-July 1974) By Characteristics of Last Job, School Status and Manner of Obtaining Job

| | FOUND LAST JOB THROUGH NORTHSIDE CENTER | | FOUND LAST JOB WITHOUT NORTHSIDE CENTER ASSISTANCE | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | In School (N=14) | Out of School (N=11) | In School (N=12) | Out of School (N=3) |
| PERCENTAGES OF E JOBHOLDERS WHOSE LAST JOBS... | | | | |
| Were Classified as of Relatively High Socio-Economic Status, i.e., Levels Four or Five (rather than 6 or 7) on Level Seven S.E.S. Scale............. | 57% | 82% | 33% | (2/3) |
| Entailed 30 or More Hours Per Week.... | 79% | 100% | 58% | (2/3) |
| Lasted Longer than One Month......... | 21% | 45% | 42% | (3/3) |
| Lasted Longer than Six Months........ | - | 27% | 17% | (1/3) |

# IX. IMPACT ON EDUCATIONAL AND CAREER ASPIRATIONS

The originating research proposal asserted that "socialization to work of teenage females from low-income black families should be examined within the context of motivational problems of these poverty populations." One of the tasks which this chapter undertakes, among other things, is the analysis of young women's responses to a variety of questions about their attitudes toward occupations, education, and related matters. The object of analysis will always be to learn two things: first, how prevalent response "x" was among young women at the project's beginning; and second, how effective the Careers Project had been in changing "x."

Three characteristics can usefully be singled out as focal points for analysis. One, the relative lack of (or repression of, or abandonment of) desire by the individual to improve his or her life-situation--"absence of achievement-orientation"--has been attributed to ghetto life. A second is the tendency not to perceive more than a severely limited portion of the total spectrum of occupational possibilities which might be open--in short, "narrowness of occupational horizons." This tendency has been attributed to restrictiveness of exposure to occupational knowledge, a condition that is also said to be a by-product of ghetto circumstances.

The restricted exposure to occupational knowledge has also been held to account for a third characteristic namely, a tendency to perceive unrealistically, to look through distorted lenses at particular occupations or their requirements: "unwarrantedness/irrealism in one's perceptions of occupations."

The foregoing conceptual distinctions are, of course, not meant to suggest that the three problems are independent of one another. Insofar as they are but differing manifestations of the same pattern of social and economic circumstances, it would not be especially surprising to find any two or all three of them occurring together within one and the same individual person. These distinctions are useful, however, as aids to discussion of the attitudinal data at hand. Therefore, the chapter is divided into three sections, each one of which examines data in terms of a different set of attitudes and of the program's effectiveness in changing these.

## Occupational Horizons

The multiple conditions that, together, define the essentials of those environments in which young black Americans typically grow to adulthood--being black, poor, a ghetto resident, a recipient of poorer quality education than that available to Americans generally, and a recipient of frequently uninstructive employment experience as a young person--operate cumulatively to affect occupational horizons in at least two different ways. These "motivational contexts" do so by "omission" insofar as they restrict access to knowledge about occupations. They do so by "commission" insofar as they constrain young people not to allow themselves to know about, or to contemplate as possible personal goals, potential life-paths that they may sense to be completely out of reach.

To state that one must know that something exists before he or she can want it or make it a personal goal is to state a truism. Yet it is precisely this truism that seems to sum up best the plight of many young black men and women who are not widely aware of many "skilled" occupations that in a full employment economy they could probably expect to enter, provided that they were equipped to do so. The earlier MARC study found that the work experience of the girls' parents and contacts figured greatly in their views of the world of work.

At least some proportion of ghetto young people, then, either come relatively infrequently into direct contact with adults who are in non-menial occupations (except, perhaps, for an occasional teacher in school); or, by implication, acquire relatively less knowledge of any such occupational alternatives in other, indirect ways as, for example, through discussions with friends (usually no more knowledgeable than they themselves are), or through visits to libraries, museums, or settings where work is performed or through reading.

The idea that one will often not allow oneself to want what he or she believes cannot be had is also a familiar one, not only in common parlance (as, for example, in the use of the expression, "sour grapes!" to explain why someone gives up on the pursuit of a seemingly unavailable goal); but also as a concept with a respectable history dating back at least a quarter of a century in studies of occupational choice.[1]

The point must be made, however, that some of the data concerning job aspirations from this study as well as from other studies point up a paradox, and that is that some people disadvantaged by education and limited experience frequently express high and unrealistic occupational goals. In a certain wry sense it could be argued that high occupational goals are perceived as the only realistic ways of significantly changing one's condition. Suffice it to say, the social psychology involved in this seeming paradox is complex. Further, the indications are that the young women in this study responded positively to job opportunities when there are jobs.

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[1] "...High school girls were asked what occupation they would like to enter, as distinct from the occupation they expected to enter. Those from low status groups were less likely than the others to choose such relatively lucrative and interesting professions as medicine and commercial art...

"...low level of aspiration may well be, in some cases, a sign of apathy and ingrained acceptance of defeat..." Genevieve Knupfer, "Portrait of the Underdog," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. XI (Spring, 1947), pp. 113-114.

This concept's pertinence to the present study is almost self-evident. That is, the proposition that the life experiences of blacks are frequently such as to stifle incentive and frustrate hope has been sufficiently well and often documented as a matter of objective record not to be arguable.[1] That being so, it follows that one effect of the cumulative "incentive-deterring" pressures that such life-situations exert may well be a kind of self-censoring that some proportion of younger people in these situations impose on themselves; they keep themselves from wanting to have careers in desirable occupations that they have learned about, but that they sense, rightly or wrongly, are closed to them. So they do not permit themselves to think of these occupations as possible personal goals, and narrow their horizons to what seems within reach.

The extent to which this is actually so for unemployed black young women must be considered problematic, however, inasmuch as there are no "hard" data that would provide a clue to the actual levels of aspiration that do prevail among unemployed black teenage girls (compared to other categories of young people), or to the respective importance of "deterrents-to-incentive..." and "restrictiveness-of-exposure-to occupational nowledge" in bringing about narrowed occupational horizons. The absence of empirical evidence has an important statistical implication for analysis of the Careers Project's effectiveness, discussed next.

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[1] "Another implication of these findings (from a fairly recent, nationwide) statistical study of the United States (male) occupational structure)... is that Negroes have less incentive than whites to acquire an education and to make the serious sacrifices that doing so entails for persons from under-privileged socio-economic classes..."

"Coming, unlike college-educated whites, from depressed origins, college educated Negroes have had to overcome more serious obstacles." Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, The American Occupational Structure, New York: Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967, pp. 211 and 212.

Occupational aspirations; a statistical implication.--As one of its objectives, the Careers Project set itself the task of broadening the occupational horizons of the experimental group by involving its members in a wider range of occupational possibilities than most of them had previously known about or seriously considered. This objective of helping young women to raise their occupational sights carried with it a tacit assumption: the assumption was that upon first entering the program, a large proportion, if not a majority of the young women participating would be found to have entered with relatively low aspirations. (If that expectation has not been tacitly implied, or if, instead, the contrary premise, that young women could be expected to have entered the program with very broad occupational horizons and high aspirations, had been adopted, there would obviously have been nothing for the program to try to accomplish in this sphere.

It is in this sense that, in the very fact of setting out to widen occupational horizons, the assumption about "low aspirations upon entrance" was inescapably implied. What then were the occupational horizons of the participants in this experiment?

## Choices of "Ideal Occupations" in July 1973

Included in the July 1973 questionnaire that was administered to all young women in the E and C groups were the following three questions:

(1) If you could have any job at all in a company or firm where you would like to work, which job would you like to have?

WRITE NAME OF JOB WITH JOB TITLE. TELL WHAT DUTIES ARE.

(2) If you could choose anything at all, how would you choose to make your living?

(3) If you had a chance to go into any kind of work you wanted, say five years from now, what occupation would you choose?...

Thus each young woman was asked at three different points to specify the ideal occupation that she would have chosen for herself if free to choose any kind of work whatever. Each of her three "ideal occupation" responses was assigned a "socio-economic status" score, according to that occupation's position on the level seven occupational rating scale that was described in an earlier chapter. Whichever one of her three choices had the highest SES rating was then designated--for purposes of this discussion--"the" ideal occupation named by that person.

Table 16 compares the SES levels of ideal occupations that were chosen by in-school E and C young women and by out-of-school E and C young women, respectively, in July 1973. To facilitate interpretation, these data, in addition to being broken down into detailed categories corresponding to the seven separate SES levels, have also been grouped into two broader categories: "relatively highest SES levels 1, 2, and 3" and "relatively lowest SES levels 4, 5, 6, and 7."

> *The basic finding*.--The single most striking aspect of these results is that the large majority of the young women had already been thinking in terms of such relatively high SES level, "middle class" careers as teacher, social worker, stewardess, registered nurse--even "highest level" occupations, like physician. This pattern obtained among in-school E's and C's (69 and 75 percent, respectively, naming SES-level 1, 2, and 3 careers as their preferred ones) and among out-of-school E's (80 percent). Only within one group, the out-of-school C's, were such preferences in the minority (25 percent); most of these young women designating more modest, lower SES-level (4, 5, 6) types of work like secretary, sales clerk, telephone operator, teller in a bank, bookkeeper, or worker in a factory or small business establishment as their preferred kinds of employment.
>
> *"In-school" versus "out-of-school" variation in occupational preferences*.--It is helpful to note, with reference to the out-of-school E's, that *if* their choices had been mostly lower SES-level occupations, like the choices of out-of-school C's--both then would have been in marked contrast to the "upper SES-level" preferences that have been seen in Table 16 for both in-school E's and in-school C's. Such a configuration would have unmistakably suggested the existence of a close relationship between "being-in-or-out-of-school," on the one hand, and tending to prefer middle class versus non-middle-class career-paths on the other. Instead, as has just been reported, out-of-school E's tended to designate upper SES-level types of careers, and only the out-of-school C's opted mostly for lower-level ones.
>
> There does not appear to be any fully satisfactory way of accounting for this apparent inconsistency between out-of-school E's and C's. One bit of evidence does suggest, though, that had a different, more refined method of ascertaining which persons were truly "in-" and which truly "out-" of school been feasible (in place of the simple distinction, "whether or not enrolled for

classes in September 1973"), then many of the young women presently classified as "out-of-school E's" would have been shifted to a new category that was much closer to the "in-school E" group.[1] By this reckoning, the variable "in-or-out-of-school" indeed did bear some kind of relationship to the sorts of futures that persons contemplated for themselves at the beginning of the July 1973-1974 year, a relationship the possible nature of which seems to merit at least a brief conjecture or two in passing.

*A "flow-of-information about occupations" process, in the classroom?*--One mechanism through which in-schoolers could perhaps have acquired broader occupational horizons and higher aspirations than their out-of-school counterparts might have been a flow-of-information-about-occupations process. As in-schoolers came closer to graduation, classroom lectures and discussions could have included increasing references--however scanty and superficial--to particular occupations for which the material being taught had some relevance. In this sense, school itself could have served to give in-schoolers an edge, acquainting them with a broader range of occupational possibilities than out-of-schoolers were in a position to apprehend. In this sense, school could have been a counteractant to the barriers-to-occupational knowledge that presumably existed outside the school.

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[1] In other words, the suggestion is that, by the new method of classification, there might well have been greater consistency than at present between the preference for an upper- versus a lower-level occupation and being in- versus being out-of-school.

The fragment of evidence in question, suggesting that this might be so, was as follows: The four groups, in-school E's and C's and out-of-school E's and C's (these groups being determined by the present method of classification, "Whether enrolled or not in September 1973") were compared as to the respective proportions of girls *who had been enrolled in school a year earlier*. (This comparison was to be used to reveal discrepancies between present and past enrollment patterns.)

The results were that: (1) Both of the presently enrolled (September 1973) "in-school" groups had also tended to be enrolled a year earlier (E's, 67 percent; C's, 91 percent). (2) Virtually none of the presently out-of-school C's (not enrolled September 1973) had been enrolled as recently as a year earlier (8 percent, 1 case). (3) The out-of-school E's displayed a mixed pattern, however (50 percent enrolled as recently as a year earlier).

So it appeared that, psychologically at least, some of the out-of-school E's might have regarded themselves as only temporary dropouts who would soon be "in school" again.

*A process of "self-selection," whereby "confidence enough to remain in school" resulted in "confidence enough to form high aspirations"?*--Second, the longer they had remained in school and the farther they had been able to advance, the more highly "self-selected" a group in-schoolers had become, compared to school dropouts and early leavers, in terms of tested ability to compete academically, grounds for self-confidence, and determination to succeed.[1] As such, they remained in a position to "keep their options open," insofar as the *possibility* of aspiring to relatively high SES-level careers was concerned, whereas school dropouts and early leavers had not.

*The meaning of the basic finding: broad occupational horizons at the beginning of the program year, despite previous barriers to occupational knowledge.*--This brings us back to the basic finding in Table 16, that most of the persons in the E and C groups upon joining the Careers Project would, even then, have chosen relatively high SES-level occupations, if free to choose. Most persons recruited were, of course, in-schoolers. Whether it was primarily for that reason, i.e., by virtue of the school setting having served to counteract barriers to knowledge and deterrents to incentive associated with their community environments, or for other reasons, the meaning of the finding is plain.

It is that, notwithstanding the multiple disadvantages of being black, ghetto residents, females, teenagers, and so on, the majority of young women recruited for the program neither had different or lower standards, concerning what "desirable" occupations are, from those held by most people within the larger American society; nor had they themselves been so discouraged or unhopeful about their own prospects, before joining the program, as noted even to have permitted themselves to fantasize about their desirable occupations as career possibilities for themselves.

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[1] Nothing is being said here about the *quality* of education received. The object is only to sketch some of the psychological concomitants of remaining on an academic path, and their implications for the process of forming an occupational aspiration.

## TABLE 16

### Socio-Economic Status Levels* of Ideal Occupations That Young Women Chose in July 1973, at Beginning of Program Year; by Whether in Experimental or Control Group and by Whether In or Out of School

| | In School (Enrolled September 1973) | | Out of School (Not Enrolled September 1973) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | E | C | E | C |
| RELATIVELY HIGHEST SES LEVELS 1, 2, AND 3: | 69% | 74% | 80% | 25% |
| Level 1 (e.g., M.D., Atty., Top Exec in Large Entrprs)...... | 9% | 17% | 13% | - |
| Level 2 (e.g., HS Teacher, Social Worker with M.A.) | 22 | 23 | 40 | - |
| Level 3 (e.g., Nurse (R.N.), Exec. Secy., Stewardess)......... | 38 | 34 | 27 | 25 |
| RELATIVELY LOWEST SES LEVELS 4, 5, 6, AND 7: | 31 | 20 | 20 | 75 |
| Level 4**............. | 9 | 14 | 20 | 25 |
| Level 5**............. | 16 | 6 | - | 33 |
| Level 6**............. | 6 | - | - | 17 |
| Level 7**............. | - | - | - | - |
| (Insufficient Information) | ( -) | ( -) | ( -) | ( -) |
| Totals | 100%<br>(N=32) | 100%<br>(N=34) | 100%<br>(N=15) | 100%<br>(N=12) |

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* According to the "Hamburger Occupational Rating Scale." See Table 1 in Chapter IV and preceding explanation in the text.

** See Table 13 for examples of occupations on Levels 4, 5, 6, and 7.

### Implications for the Careers Project's "Horizon-Broadening" Capability: Little "Room at the Top" for Effects to Occur

Therefore, whatever else may be said about the Careers Project's effectiveness--and much more doea remain to be said--the program plainly could not have had much impact[1] in broadening most experimental group young women's occupational horizons, already extended to begin with. This is not to say that most young women were necessarily realistic in their perceptions of occupations as the program began, and that therefore, there was little the program could aim to accomplish in this respect. Nor is it to say that most persons were necessarily achievement-oriented as the program began, in the sense that each had committed herself to a definite occupational goal for which she was prepared to strive in concrete ways, so that there was little for the program to do in creating or sustaining motivation to achieve. There was much for the program to do in both respects, as we shall see.

## Attempting to Engender Knowledge and Realistic Perceptions of Specific Occupations

Growing to adulthood without benefit of opportunities to learn about other than the most menial work alternatives results in narrowed horizons and curtailed awareness of possibilities. Such adolescents also lack a fund of information concerning specific occupations; much of that which they know or think about the labor market is too thin or too erroneous to be of use either in finding an immediate job or in deciding on a future.

Insofar as there were grounds for supposing that young women who were being recruited for the Careers Project had been handicapped--the Careers Project would seek to repair the damage. By means of the same varied sequence of activities through which it proposed to broaden horizons, making women aware of new possibilities, the program would also try to augment their comprehension of and their stores of information about work-alternatives.

### Changes in Choices of Ideal Occupations as an Indicator of the Program's Effectiveness in Filling Knowledge-Gaps and in Counteracting Misperceptions

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[1] And did not, in fact, have any such impact. See Table 20 (for in-school persons) and Tables 17 and 18 (for out-of-schoolers) later in the chapter.

Although data that would have permitted a direct test of the program's success in attaining these purposes were not available,[1] there nevertheless remained the possibility of carrying out an indirect test by examining changes that had occurred during the program year in choices of ideal occupations.

"Realism in occupational aspirations; the test.--If one knew that a young woman who was within a few months of receiving her high school diploma expected to try to go into teaching, social work, become a nurse or even a physician, enter law or journalism, or become a secretary, one's initial reaction might well be to wish her success. If, by contrast, one heard any of those same aspirations attributed to another person who had dropped out of school, it would be difficult to escape the conviction that she was being unrealistic. The fact is that the completion of at least twelve years of education is a minimum requirement for entry into almost any occupation that a young women might consider desirable. This fact underlies the indirect test of the Careers Project's effectiveness in engendering more realistic perceptions. The test itself pertains only to those E and C young women--fourteen and nine in number, respectively--who had quit school without having completed work for their diplomas and who did not re-enroll for classes at any time during the program year.

The test's object was to see whether by the end of the program the out-of-school E's had become "more realistic" in their tentative choices of career goals than out-of-school C's had become. Use of the terms "more realistic" and "less realistic" presupposes that a career like teacher or social worker with professional training, often further years of graduate training, as well, would be far more difficult for a tenth or twelfth grade school drop-out to try to enter than an occupation like secretary, bookkeeper, cashier, or bank teller, that demands little or no formal education beyond high school. Therefore, a school drop-out who aspired to become a teacher or professionally trained social worker could be considered far less realistic in her aspiration than one who sought to become a secretary, bookkeeper, cashier, or bank teller.

Thus the test would consist in seeing whether, in July 1974, out-of-school E women had shifted more often toward aspirations for careers that, compared to their "July

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[1] See the section, later in this chapter, headed "Perceptions of Educational Requirements for Ideal Occupations."

1973" choices, would require of them fewer or no additional years to be spent in high school or college, as compared with out-of-school C's.

The July 1974 questions pertaining to choices of ideal occupations.--For this purpose, a comparison of July 1974 responses to questions about ideal occupations with July 1963 responses would be appropriate--provided that actual aspirations, as opposed to mere idle fantasies or daydreams, were in fact being tapped by such occupational questions (asking, as they did, what would you choose if you were free to choose).

The principal reason why a concern to distinguish between "aspirations" and "fantasies" was important becomes immediately apparent upon recognizing how pointless it would be to try to grade different "fantasy"-responses according to their degrees of "realism"--if, indeed, any of the responses were only fantasies. A simple way was found of ascertaining how serious a technical problem this hypothetical possibility might be.[1] Use of that procedure, in order to differentiate women whose ideal-occupation responses seemed more likely and less likely to be reflective of actual aspirations, showed that introducing this distinction into the "realism" test (results of which will be discussed shortly below) in no way altered the relative degrees of realism displayed by E and C young women in their ideal-occupation choices. Therefore, no further reference will be made to this matter, and the terms "ideal occupation," "occupational choice," and "occupational aspiration" will be used interchangeably from now on.

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[1] Immediately following the question on what kind of work a person would most want to do at age 32 or 33 (as given in the text immediately below) was the further question:

> "Do you think you probably will be doing that kind of work at age 32 or 33, or not?"
>
> (Checklist answer-categories provided:
>
> Yes, I'm pretty sure I will; I hope so and I expect to try; I'm not very hopeful that I can; I probably won't be)

Those who answered "...pretty sure I will" or "expect to try" (11 of the 15 E out-of-schoolers and 8 of the 12 C's) could be considered more likely to be actual aspirants to the ideal occupations they had chosen than those who answered "...not hopeful..." or "I probably won't be."

In July 1974, two "ideal occupation" questions, instead of three, as a year earlier, were asked (non-contiguously):

> (1) Suppose you could choose any way at all to make a living right after you had finished all the schooling or college you wanted. (Or, if you have already gotten all the schooling you want, suppose you could choose...right now.)
>
> What kind of work would you REALLY want to do..."
>
> (WRITE NAME OF JOB OR OCCUPATION. STATE THE MAIN THINGS YOU WOULD DO IN THIS WORK.)
>
> (2) Now think ten or fifteen years ahead..., to when you're 32 or 33 years old. What kind of work would you REALLY most like to be doing at age 32 or 33...?

Again as in July 1973, each person's response to each of the two questions was given its appropriate socio-economic status score, according to that occupation's position on the level seven occupational rating scale. And finally (also in repetition of the July 1973 procedure), whichever of her two occupational choices had the highest SES rating was then designated "the" ideal occupation that girl had chosen in July 1974.

Crossing the "educational-requirements boundary" that separates SES-levels 1, 2, 3 and SES-levels 4, 5, 6 occupations.--The test itself was actually comprised of two different tests; or, more accurately, two alternative ways of grouping the data on shifts in occupational preferences during the 1973-1974 year, each designed to answer a different question about those shifts.

Broadly stated, the distinction between the two ways of grouping was that one was designed to detect the occurrence of only what might be termed major shifts across the educational-requirements boundary that separates most middle class--or socio-economic status-levels 1, 2, 3--occupations from most non-middle class or SES-levels 4, 5, 6, 7 occupations. The second way of grouping was designed to show the extent of all kinds of shifts, including not only "major" ones, but also such "within-middle-class-occupation"-shifts as from, say, SES levels 1 to 2 or 3, or from 3 to 2, and so on; and such "within-non-middle-class-occupation"-shifts as from, say, 4 to 5, 6 to 5 or 4, and the like.

To elaborate briefly on what is meant by the term "educational-requirements boundary," the reference here is to the distinction between occupations most of which require at least some college-level education (and often much more) and occupations most of which do not. Merely to list a few examples of occupations at each socio-economic status level is to make the main point,[1] although there are some exceptions for which the distinction breaks down--the exceptions being chiefly types of careers on SES level 3 that do not necessarily presuppose formal education beyond high school,[2] and career types on level 4 that may or do require some college-level training.[3]

Results of the test for major shifts, across the boundary. Table 17, in comparing the frequencies with which E and C school drop-outs, respectively, chose, at the end of the July 1973-July 1974 year, either SES-levels 1, 2, 3 ideal occupations requiring "education beyond high school" or SES-levels 4, 5, 6 occupations requiring "high school-only," makes this comparison separately for, on the one hand, E's and C's who, in their July 1973 choices had specified SES-level 1, 2, 3 careers, and for E's and C's who, in their year-earlier choices, had designated SES-level 4, 5, 6 ideal occupations.

This means that, in order to make a "realistic" choice in July 1974, by selecting a "high school-only" occupation, the E's and C's in columns 1 and 2 of the table had to shift down from their year-earlier SES-level 1, 2, 3 choices; and that the E's and C's in the table's two right-most columns had not to shift up from their year-earlier SES-level 4, 5, 6 choices.

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[1] SES-level 1: physician, lawyer, major corporation executive;
2: teacher, head nurse in hospital, journalist;
3: teacher without BA or BS, registered nurse, executive secretary
(boundary)------------------------------------------
4: secretary, cashier, bank teller;
5: typist, telephone operator, sales clerk.

[2] SES-level 3: commercial artist, entertainer, office manager.

[3] SES-level 4: lab technician with two years' training or less.

## TABLE 17

(ONLY FOR OUT-OF-SCHOOL (i.e., NOT ENROLLED SEPTEMBER 1973 OR AFTER) WOMEN)

Whether Chose an "Education-Beyond-High-School" (i.e., SES-Level 1, 2, 3) Ideal Occupation or an "High School-Only" (i.e., SES-Level 4, 5, 6) Ideal Occupation in July 1974; by Whether in Experimental or Control Group and by Whether "July 1973" Choice Had Been an SES Level 1, 2, 3 or an SES-Level 4, 5, 6 Occupation

| | (OUT-OF-SCHOOL (i.e., NOT ENROLLED 9/73 OR AFTER) WOMEN ONLY*) | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Had Chosen SES-Level 1,2,3 Ideal Occupation July 1973 | | | | Had Chosen SES-Level 4,5,6 Ideal Occupation July 1973 | | | |
| | E | | C | | E | | C | |
| Chose "Education-Beyond High School" (i.e., SES-Level 1, 2, 3) Ideal Occupation 7/74 | 91% | (10) | 100% | ( 2) | (33%) | ( 1) | 29% | ( 2) |
| Chose "High School Only" (i.e., SES-Level 4, 5, 6) Ideal Occupation 7/74 | 9 | ( 1) | (-) | ( -) | (67) | ( 2) | 71 | ( 5) |
| Totals* | 100% | (N=11) | 100% | (N=2) | 100% | (N=3) | 100% | (N=7) |

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* Totals exclude one E and three C's who had already graduated from high school by July 1973.

## TABLE 18

(ONLY FOR OUT-OF-SCHOOL (i.e., NOT ENROLLED SEPTEMBER 1973 OR AFTER) WOMEN)

Whether Chose a Higher SES- , a Lower SES- , or a Same SES-Level Occupation in July 1974, Compared to July 1973; by Whether in Experimental or Control Group and by Whether "July 1973" Choice Had Been an SES-Level 1, 2, 3 or a Level 4, 5, 6 Occupation

| | (OUT-OF-SCHOOL (i.e., NOT ENROLLED 9/73 OR AFTER) WOMEN ONLY*) | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Had Chosen SES-Level 1,2,3 Ideal Occupation July 1973 | | | | Had Chosen SES-Level 4,5,6 Ideal Occupation July 1973 | | | |
| | E | | C | | E | | C | |
| Chose Higher SES-Level Ideal Occupation in July 1974 (than in July 1973) | -% | ( -) | ( -%) | ( -) | (33%) | ( 1) | 43% | ( 3) |
| Chose Same SES-Level Occupation in July 1974 | 45 | ( 5) | (100) | ( 2) | ( - ) | ( - ) | 57 | ( 4) |
| Chose Lower SES-Level Occupation in July 1974 | 55 | (6) | ( - ) | ( -) | (67) | ( 2) | - | ( -) |
| Totals | 100% (N=11) | | (100%) (N=2) | | (100%) (N=3) | | 100% (N=7) | |

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* Totals exclude one E and three C's who had already graduated from high school by July 1973.

**P($X^2$=5.57 for one d.f.) > .02 when columns 1 and 3 are combined, columns 2 and 4 are combined, and $X^2$ is computed with Yates correction based on following two-by-two table: Chose "Higher" or "Same": E, 6; C, 9; Chose "Lower": E, 8; C, -.

The fact that in the table's second column there are only two C group women represented, and in the third column, only three E group women, necessarily renders any conclusions that might be drawn about these data in Table 17 tenuous at best. Nevertheless, despite this limitation, the data do seem to suggest several things:

(1) (Columns 1 and 2): Among those who had, in their year-earlier choices, named SES-level 1, 2, 3-ideal occupations, there was virtually no shifting down in July 1974 to SES-level 4, 5, 6 occupations, mostly requiring "high school only" education.

Thus, although in purely practical terms such choices might appear unrealistic for women--who had already been away from classes for at least a year (and, in some cases, much longer), all but one of these eleven E's and two C's still clung the end of the program year to their aspirations for careers that, to be realized, would make heavy further educational demands upon them.

(2) (Columns 1 and 2): As between the eleven E's and two C's, the data suggest that E's were no more inclined than C's, to "shift down" to non-middle class career aspirations.

(3) (Columns 3 and 4): Among those who had, in their year-earlier choices, specified SES-level 4, 5, 6 ideal occupations, there was a tendency to shift up in July 1974 to SES-level 1, 2, 3 occupations, mostly requiring years of additional education beyond high school; this tendency was reflected in the choices of perhaps 30 percent of the three E's and seven C's.

Thus, for whatever reasons, the additional year's worth of maturation and experience undergone by these out-of-school women, between July 1973 and July 1974, led a sizable minority of them to aspire, at year's end, to careers that were less "realistic" in practical terms than their initial choices of a year earlier.

(4) (Columns 3 and 4): As between the three E's and seven C's, the data do not suggest that E's were any less inclined than C's to shift up to less "realistic" aspirations.

In sum, then--and apart from any question about what kind of effects the Careers Project might have *intended* to exert on the aspirations of out-of-school E's--the program did not appear to have had any effect whatever, either in causing or discouraging changes of aspiration at the level of the distinction between occupations requiring or not requiring college training. It did not appear to have prompted E out-of-schoolers who, at the beginning of the program year, had preferred "college-requiring" careers, to relinquish such aspirations in favor of non-"college-requiring" ones a year later; nor, conversely, did it seem to have led out-of-school E's who initially had opted for "high school only-requiring" occupations to refrain from shifting up, at program-year's end, to "college-requiring" choices.

There were different outcomes, however, with respect to shifts that occurred *within* each of the broad categories of "education-beyond-high-school-requiring" and "high school-only-requiring" occupations.

*Results of the test for "any" kinds of shifts; within the SES-levels 1, 2, 3" category and within the SES-levels 4, 5, 6" category, as well as across the boundary between them.*[1]--Table 18 shows the frequencies with which young women chose, in July 1974, ideal occupations that were on *higher* SES-levels than their year-earlier choices had been, on the *same* levels, and on *lower* ones. Again (as in Table 18), the data are presented separately for E and C school dropouts who, in their year-earlier choices, had named SES-level 1, 2, 3 occupations and for E and C out-of-schoolers who in July 1973 had said they would prefer SES-level 4, 5, 6 types of careers. These data indicate that:

(1) (Columns 1 and 2): Among young women whose July 1973 aspirations had been toward "college-requiring" SES-level 1, 2, 3-types of careers:

(a) None, either E's nor C's, "shifted up" to choose occupations that were on even higher SES-levels and therefore even more education-demanding than their July 1973 choices had been; but,

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[1] The caveat expressed in Chapter VI concerning the use of the chi-square test in cases where the sample is small should be kept in mind in reading the tables in this chapter where the test has been used.

(b) E's, in their July 1974 choices did tend strongly to reduce their aspirations somewhat, a majority (55 percent, six of the eleven E's) shifting down to lower SES-level- , less-education-requiring-occupations; whereas neither of the two C women did so, both expressing July 1974 preferences that were on the same SES-levels as their year-earlier choices.

(2) (Columns 3 and 4): Among those whose July 1973 ideal occupational choices had been of the non-"college-requiring" variety, on SES-levels 4, 5, 6:

(a) A minority of both E and C women (one of the three E's, three of the seven C's) raised their sights toward more education-demanding higher SES-level careers in their July 1974 choices.

(b) In contrast, two of the three E's "chose down" in July 1974, selecting ideal occupations that were on lower SES-levels than their July 1973 choices had been; but none of the seven C group women chose down, all of them aspiring in their year-end choices to careers that were on either the same or higher levels than their year-earlier preferences.

In sum, despite the statistical limitations of these data, stemming from the small numbers of cases available for analysis, the magnitudes of the percentage-differences between proportions of E's shifting down and the (zero) proportions of C's doing so indicate that the Careers Project did have an aspiration-lowering effect on E women who had dropped out of high school without graduating.

*Nature of the program's effect*.--As was seen earlier, this effect almost never involved the giving up of a "college-requiring" career goal for a less-educationally demanding goal, on the part of an E out-of-schooler who chose down at program-year's end. Rather, it appeared to have entailed a kind of "fine-tuning" adjustment, a relatively modest scaling down of the amount of education-beyond-high school that most such school dropouts still apparently desired to achieve. (For example, a would-be "medical doctor" in her July 1973 choice specified "medical secretary" a year later. A July

1973 "supervisory nurse" changed to just "registered nurse" in July 1974.) Even these relatively modest degrees of scaling down presumably occurred, one may infer, because of the more realistic perceptions of occupational requirements that E out-of-schoolers acquired, through their participation in the program, than they had had upon first joining.

## Young Women's Perceptions of Educational Requirements for Their Ideal Occupations

In addition to the foregoing indirect test of the program's effectiveness in engendering realistic perceptions, a direct test had also been contemplated, one that would have applied to all E women, both in- and out-of-school. Corresponding to the name-your-ideal-occupation questions that young women were asked, they had also been asked to specify the amounts of education that their respective ideal occupations required.

Therefore, the direct test would have consisted in judging the appropriateness of each person's belief as to the educational requirements for her chosen occupation, in terms of the actual demands generally made by that occupation's "credentials" committees upon young women seeking entrance into it. This test was not performed, owing solely to an insufficiency of time available for carrying out the necessary coding and/or computer-programming operations that would have been required to match up each "educational requirements" response with the corresponding "ideal occupation" response and make a judgment as to its appropriateness. Nevertheless, responses to the "educational requirements" questions proved, even without being matched with their corresponding "ideal occupations" responses, to be important data in their own right, as we now see.

> Careers Project emphases on "the importance of getting an education." One theme that the program stressed, perhaps more than any other, was education as an avenue to opportunity. This theme was diffused throughout the program's activities in a variety of ways, both explicit and subtle: in the fact that peer aides, who as peer-group leaders were convenient role models for E women, were themselves college students or graduates; in the developing of an individualized career plan for each person that stressed school and training aspects; in the efforts made to orient peer-group activities toward education; in the instituting of a system of bonuses to be paid to young women who took part in educational activities.
>
> Accordingly, there was something to be gained by analyzing responses to the educational-requirements questions in such a way as to answer the question, did the program's stress on education have the effect of causing

persons to change their views on the importance of getting an education themselves? Objectives of such an analysis would be not only to indicate the kinds and extent of change, if any, in the views of those in the experimental group but also to obtain results that might serve as a kind of overall measure of the program's effectiveness in the one area where it seemed to have placed most of its bets.

Treatment of the educational-requirements questions.--In July 1973, two "educational requirements" questions were asked (each placed after its corresponding "ideal occupation" question), worded as shown below to the left. A year later, two analogous questions were asked, worded slightly differently from the 1973 versions and providing additional checklist answer-categories, as shown below to the right.

| | (July 1973 versions) | | (July 1974 versions) |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | "What sort of schooling do you think you would need for this?" (i.e., "...how (you)... would choose to make your living...if you could choose anything at all...") | (1) | "What sort of schooling do you think somebody needs in order to get this kind of work?" (i.e., ideal-job-or-career-as-soon-as-done-with-school) |
| | Checklist answer-categories provided were: | | Checklist answer-categories provided were: |
| | "Finish high school;<br>Some college;<br>Finish college;<br>Graduate or professional school;<br>Trade, technical, or commercial training." | | "No special kind of schooling;<br>On-the-job training;<br>Finish high school;<br>Some college (one or two years;<br>Finish college (four years);<br>Graduate or professional school;<br>Trade, technical, or commercial training." |
| (2) | "What sort of schooling do you think you need for this?" (i.e., ideal job 5 years from now) | (2) | "What type of schooling do you estimate somebody needs in order to get this kind of work...?" (i.e., ideal job or career at age 32 or 33) |

| | |
|---|---|
| Same answer categories as above except that words "high school diploma" replaced words "finish high school." | Same answer categories as above. |

With respect to each person's responses to the two July 1973 questions, whichever of her two answers specified the *highest* amount of education was designated as the level of education that that person had considered necessary in July 1973, for an ideal occupation. The same procedure was repeated later for the two-July 1974 questions as well. Whichever of two answers in that year specified the highest amount of education was taken to be the level of education that she had considered necessary.

*Crossing the boundary between perception of high school as sufficient and perception of college level studies as necessary*.--The reader will recall that, earlier, in discussing shifts in occupational preference, data were grouped in two different ways. One was designed to detect "major" shifts across the educational-requirements boundary that separates "college-requiring" from non-"college-requiring" occupations; the second, to show the extent of all kinds of shifts, including not only "major" ones, but also changes of preference both above and below the boundary.

Now, in the present discussion, such distinctions are again appropriate. (Here, perceptions of educational requirements are directly of concern; before they were only indirectly so; as an implicit attribute of occupations that young women *themselves* might or might *not* have had consciously in mind, when designating ideal occupations.) Thus, shifts in perceptions of educational requirements will be analyzed from both standpoints; first, as to the extent of changes of any degree whatever, including not only "major" shifts across the "high school (or trade-technical school) only-versus-college" line, but also shifts occurring only on one side of that line, such as downward from "finish college" to "some college," or upward from "finish college" to "graduate-or-professional school"; then as to the extent of "major" changes, "across the line," between perceiving (college-level) education-beyond-high-school to be necessary and regarding lower amounts of schooling as adequate.

*Changes in in-school E's' and C's' perceptions of educational requirements*.--Table 19 shows, for E and C women who were enrolled in school during the program year, what proportions changed to perceiving any higher levels of education to be required than the levels they had thought necessary a year earlier, what proportions the same levels, and what proportions lower ones.

These data do tend to confirm that the Careers Project did have a standard-raising effect on the "educational-requirements" perceptions of E group members who were in school; this caused more of them than of C's to perceive higher levels of schooling to be necessary than they had earlier thought to be required; and it caused fewer of them than of C's to perceive lower levels to be sufficient.

Moreoever, as further data show, this effect was attributable largely to one group of E women; those who, in raising their standards, did so by crossing over the line from "non-'college'" to "college" perceptions. This can be seen by comparing E in-school women and C in-schoolers on net shifts between July 1973 and July 1974, in the proportions giving "college"-level responses--either "some college," "finish college," or "graduate or professional school" to the educational requirements questions.

Specifically, for C in-schoolers, this proportion in July 1973 was 74 percent; in July 1974, 69 percent; so that the net change in the proportions giving college-level responses, - 5 percent, was in a negative direction, although by a negligible amount. Among in-school E's, by contrast, the college-level response proportion in July 1973 was 56 percent; but a year later, it was 81 percent. In other words, for them, there was a net increase of 25 percent in the proportion of those who had responded either "some college," "finish college," or "graduate or professional school" to the educational-requirements questions.

Finally, something that makes this result stand out with greater clarity, and that aides in its interpretation, is to consider it in the light of in-school E and C women's corresponding net shifts with respect to their choices of ideal occupations; more particularly, net shifts in the two groups' proportions of persons who chose relatively high SES-level 1, 2, 3, i.e., "college-requiring" occupations. Neither the in-school C nor the in-school E women had shifted toward higher proportions of SES 1, 2, 3, occupation choices in July 1974 relative to their year-earlier choices. (Among C's, the 1973 and 1974 proportions of young women so choosing were 79 and 77 percent, respectively, for a net shift of -2 percent; among E's 69 and 69 percent, for a 0 percent net shift.) Table 20 summarizes all of these net-change patterns, both as to the two groups' choices of ideal occupations and as to their responses to the educational-requirements questions.

In sum:

(a) The Careers Project did affect beliefs held by in-school experimental group women concerning the levels of formal education that they would need to attain in order to be admitted to their preferred occupations;

(b) The effect was such as to cause both a larger proportion of persons to adopt more severe educational standards (compared to their earlier ones) than would otherwise have done do (Table 19, 38 percent for E's versus 15 percent for C's), and a smaller proportion to adopt less rigorous standards than would otherwise have done so (19 percent for E's, 35 percent for C's);

(c) Much of this effect was concentrated among those who, having believed in July 1973 that less-than-college level amounts of schooling would suffice, had apparently become converted, by the end of the July 1973-July 1974 year, to the belief that they would need to acquire college-level credentials;

(d) When the finding in "(c)" above is juxtaposed against the fact that occupational horizons of in-school E women were not significantly affected by their participation in the program (Table 20*)--and, in particular, not in such a way as to have caused more of them to aspire to middle class (i.e., SES-level 1, 2, 3) occupations than had earlier done so--the program's effect on E's perceptions of educational requirements can be seen probably to have been primarily a "utilitarian" one. That is, their changes of belief seemingly represented only relatively limited

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* Other data in addition to Table 20 also show the program not to have had a significant impact on the aspirations of in-school women. (These other data will not be discussed, in the interests of brevity.)

## TABLE 19

### (ONLY FOR IN-SCHOOL (i.e., ENROLLED SEPTEMBER 1973) WOMEN

Whether, in July 1974, Specified a Higher, a Lower or the Same Level of Required Education (for Ideal Occupation), Compared to July 1973; by Whether in E or C Group

| | IN-SCHOOL (ENROLLED 9/73) WOMEN ONLY | |
|---|---|---|
| | E | C |
| Specified Higher Educational Level in July 1974 (Than in July 1973) | 38% | 15% |
| Specified Same Educational Level in July 1974 | 44 | 50 |
| Specified Lower Educational Level in July 1974 | 19 | 35 |
| Totals | 101%<br>(N=32) | 100%<br>(N=34) |

$P(X^2 = 5.0 \text{ for two d.f.}) > .10$

## TABLE 20

## (ONLY FOR IN-SCHOOL (i.e., ENROLLED SEPTEMBER 1973) WOMEN)

Summary of Net Shifts from July 1973 to July 1974 in: (1) Proportions of Young Women Who Chose SES-Level 1, 2, 3 Ideal Occupations; (2) Proportions Who Replied Either "Some College," "Finish College," or "Graduate or Professional School" in Response to Educational-Requirements Questions; by Whether in E or C Group

| | IN-SCHOOL (ENROLLED 9/73) WOMEN ONLY | |
|---|---|---|
| | E | C |
| Net Shifts, 7/73-7/74, in Proportions Who Chose SES-Level 1, 2, 3 Ideal Occupations | 0% (=69% - 69%)* | -2% (=79% - 81%)* |
| Net Shifts, 7/73-7/74, in Proportions Who Gave "College"-Level Responses to Educational-Requirements Questions | 25% (=81% - 56%)* | -5% (=69% - 74%)* |

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* First figures shown in parentheses is always the proportion who responded (in the indicated manner) in July 1974. Second figure is always the proportion who had responded in that manner one year earlier, in July 1973.

accommodations to new realities of which the program had made them aware; and not indications either that any broad, all-encompassing changes in their self-definitions or goals might have occurred; of that they had come to place greater value (than formerly) on education for its own sake.

*Changes in out-of-school E's' and C's' responses to the educational-requirements questions.*--In contradistinction to their in-school counterparts, *out*-of-school E women tended not to change *their* "educational-requirements" perceptions any more frequently in one direction than in the other.

This *absence* of any tendency toward change in either direction among E out-of-schoolers also stands out in marked contrast to results for the C out-of-school women, as Table 21 indicates. Of the twelve control group young women not in school, 50 percent had revised their beliefs upward by July 1974, having come by then to consider higher levels of education more necessary than they so thought a year earlier.

One conclusion these data suggest is that, whatever the unknown factors might have been that had propelled out-of-school C women to see greater educational demands ahead of them, something had prevented those same factors from having a like impact upon the out-of-school E girls. As to what that something may have been, only unsupported surmise is possible. A conjecture that seems reasonable is this: that the same "Careers Project"-derived experiences which had prompted out-of-school E women to lower their occupational aspirations by modest degrees (Table 18) had also had a similar if less manifest effect, on their "educational" perceptions--by *inhibiting* them from attaching higher educational price tags to their preferred occupations at program-year's end than they had at the beginning.

### A Final Note Concerning Careers Project Impacts Upon the Reality-Orientations of Experimental Group Young Women

Possibly because the program's effects, in altering experimental group women's perceptions of occupational and educational realities, were subtle rather than dramatic ones, the numbers that have been presented here as evidence (in Tables 17 to 20) that such effects did in fact occur do not seem to point up, by themselves, one important difference between the effects for in- and out-of-school women. This difference does become more readily apparent, however, upon simply characterizing in brief verbal phrases what tendencies the numbers did disclose. These characterizations are presented in Table 22.

Table 22 suggests that what might be termed the "psychology of adjustment to new realities" operated in exactly reverse fashion among in-school and out-of-school experimental group women. Although both categories had apparently acquired much new information about particular occupations, through the experiences that the Careers Project had arranged for them to have, they tended to adjust in precisely opposite ways to the new realities to which each had been exposed.

In-school women, on the one hand, tended to adjust by scaling their educational beliefs upward, evidently to bring them more into line with their original tentative occupational choices; but without usually changing or abandoning those choices themselves. For them, "becoming more realistic" was primarily a matter of adjusting means to ends--i.e., a matter of revising their ideas about what level of educational means they would have to utilize or expend (what the "educational price" would be) in order to attain the occupational ends that they considered most desirable. And, as "in schoolers," and, therefore, "still having their options open" occupationally, in-school women were thereby in a position--psychologically, if not necessarily financially--to feel that they did not have to abandon their original goals and "settle for less" occupationally.

Out-of-school young women, on the other hand, did tend to "settle for less" occupationally--by choosing lower SES-level ideal occupations in July 1974 than they had designated twelve months before (although the degrees of "lessness" were relatively small); but they did not tend to scale downward their beliefs concerning required educational levels correspondingly. In short, "becoming more realistic" was, for out-of-school women, usually a matter of adjusting ends to means--i.e., a matter of lowering their original occupational "ends," presumably to make them more consonant with the levels of educational means that they still hoped, one day, to be able to master.

Certainly, in their position, as young women who had been out of school for a year or more, women for whom "educational means" had already proven increasingly difficult to muster, taking the same tack as the "in-school" women, of clinging to their original occupational preferences, would have been increasingly "unrealistic." For out-of-schoolers, their position rendered the

## TABLE 21

## OUT-OF-SCHOOL (NOT ENROLLED SEPTEMBER 1973 OR AFTER) WOMEN'S PERCEPTIONS OF EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS

Whether, in July 1974, Specified a Higher,
a Lower, or the Same Level of Required Education
(for Ideal Occupation), Compared to July 1973;
by Whether in E or C Group

| | (OUT-OF-SCHOOL (i.e., NOT ENROLLED 9/73 OR AFTER) WOMEN ONLY) | |
|---|---|---|
| | E | C |
| Specified Higher Educational Level in July 1974 (Than in July 1973) | 20% | 50% |
| Specified Same Educational Level in July 1974 | 60 | 42 |
| Specified Lower Educational Level in July 1974 | 20 | 8 |
| Totals | 100%<br>(N=15) | 100%<br>(N=12) |

P($X^2$ = 2.9 for two d.f.) > .25

TABLE 22

Verbal Recapitulation of Tendencies in the "July 1973-July 1974" Response Patterns of In-School and Out-of-School Experimental Group Women With Respect to: (1) Choices of Ideal Occupations; (2) Perceptions of Educational Requirements for I. O.'s

|  | E<br>IN-SCHOOL GIRLS | E<br>OUT-OF-SCHOOL GIRLS |
|---|---|---|
| Tendencies in Choices of Ideal Occupations | NO TREND<br>(in occupational aspiration changes) (Table 20 and other data not shown) | (SMALL) DOWNWARD SHIFTS IN LEVELS OF OCCUPATIONS ASPIRED TO<br>(Tables 18 and 17) |
| Tendencies in Perceptions of Educational Requirements | UPWARD SHIFTS IN MINIMUM EDUCATIONAL LEVELS BELIEVED NECESSARY<br>(Tables 19 and 20) | NO TREND<br>(in "perception-of-educational-requirements" changes) (Table 21 and other data not shown) |

other course, the lowering of their original tentative ambitions, the "more realistic" one.

## Attempting to Strengthen the Will to Achieve

In an earlier section of this chapter, this proposition was considered: that cumulative "deterrents to incentive" which are frequently a built-in feature of the life-situations of black Americans may cause individuals not even to aspire tentatively to certain desirable occupations which seem out of reach, not even to imagine such career-paths as possible personal goals. Some young people in like circumstances do, of course, form aspirations anyway--for a while, at least--for careers in occupations that are both desirable and hard-to-enter. Having an idea of what one might like to do in life ("if free to choose") does not, however, thereby guarantee that one will actually try to do it, will actually translate an occupational preference into a specific occupational goal, to which one is committed and for which one is prepared to strive in concrete ways.

## Deterrents to Incentive and the Will to Achieve

Deterrents to incentive may, at this stage of the socialization to work of black teenage females, as well as at the earlier one, stifle an incipient will to achievement. The multiple conditions that define the lives of many black Americans (poverty, living in a ghetto community, etc.) may do their incentive-deterring work at this stage by creating, within the individual, a sense of powerlessness in respect to his or her own life, a felt "inability to implement aspirations and to attain desired ends."

> The program's strategy.--If part of the problem, to begin with, in persons' feelings of inability to bring about desired changes in their own lives, was an objective reality that did often seem to deny opportunities at every turn for self-realization--through jobs, income, education--how could a Careers Project expect to make any headway in strengthening desires for achievement in the face of that reality?
>
> For one thing, insofar as it could do so within its own resources, the program would attempt to change that reality, at least for young persons taking part in the program, both by helping them to develop needed skills and by placing them in jobs.
>
> For another, it would aim, through the peer group discussion sessions and job hunts in which group women were to participate, to help them learn to distinguish between "those personal things they had to work on" (that could affect their possibilities for employment) and "...those things (that were)...beyond their individual responsibility."
>
> For a third, it would endeavor to confront them at close quarters with vivid and convincing personal examples of what they themselves could hope to achieve--given adequate preparation, courage, and persistence--in the persons of the peer aides who had achieved.
>
> "Hope"; the indispensable ingredient.--Perhaps the single most important aspect of this strategy, the one on which, more than any of its specific details, the program's ultimate success or failure could said to be riding, was its implied aim of engendering or restoring hope. One of the pillars on which the will to achieve rests, and in the absence of which it does not arise nor can be long sustained, is, in the view of at least some academic psychologists, precisely "hope"; or, in the

more formal idiom, "the perceived probability of obtaining the goal."[1]

Three kinds of tests of the program's impact upon young women's achievement-orientations were devised. The first entailed examining changes in attitudes that could be regarded as expressive of "hope"; the second, analyzing responses to questions that would indicate intentions to translate occupational preferences into specific occupational goals, and into definite courses of action to reach those goals; and the third, assessing frequencies of actual behavior in either remaining or not remaining in school.

### Levels of Optimism-Pessimism About Future Job Possibilities

In its reference to the dependence of achievement-orientations upon hope, the discussion of a moment ago itself implied one possible way of evaluating the program's efficacy in creating or strengthening desires for personal achievement. This would be to see whether E group women had become more hoepful or not, compared with C group young women, during the program year. Results of such comparisons would not, of course, constitute a direct test of whether changes in levels of achievement-orientation, as such, had occurred; only of whether changes in "hope," as one indispensable condition for the presence of achievement-orientations, had occurred.

> Shifts-of-response to questions about future job opportunities as indicators of changes in hope.--The required comparisons could be made by analyzing changes in E and C groups. July 1974 answers to questions on future job opportunities that had originally been asked of them the previous year. These are the same questions, except for one important alteration, the details of which are noted below, that were described earlier in Chapter VII, in connection with Tables 11 and 12.

The July 1973 versions of all five questions are repeated again below to the left. To the right, either the word "same" has been shown opposite each of the corresponding July 1973 versions, to indicate identical wording in July 1974; or the alterations in wording that were made for the July 1974 version have been indicated.

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[1] "...An organism's motivation to achieve a goal is, in part, a positive function of its perceived probability of attaining the goal..."

"Hope can...be regarded as a shorthand term for an expectation about goal attainment..." Ezra Stotland, The Psychology of Hope, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1969, pp. 7 and 2.

| | July 1973 version | July 1974 version |
|---|---|---|
| (3) | There is no use in training blacks for better jobs because most white employers would not hire them anyway. | Same |
| | (Checklist answer-categories provided were: Agree very much, Agree a little, Disagree a little, Disagree very much) | ...Agree strongly...<br>...Disagree strongly... |
| (4) | In this country most people do not want to see blacks move up to better jobs. | Same |
| | (Checklist answer-categories as for (3)) | |
| (5) | Even if I could do more skilled work than I do now, I would not get a chance to do it. | Same |
| | (Checklist answer-categories as for (3)) | |
| (1) | Do you think you could ever get it (i.e., "any job at all in a company...(that you)... would like to have...(if you could)...")? | (Note: Only a single question such as (1) or (2) from July 1973 was asked in July 1974, worded as follows (and identified hereafter as (1)-(2)," to maintain its correspondence with a specially prepared combined version of (1) and (2) from July 1973) |
| | (Checklist answer-categories provided were: Very likely, somewhat likely, 50-50 chance, somewhat unlikely, very unlikely) | |
| (2) | Do you think you could ever get this kind of work (i.e., an "occupation (you) would... choose...if you had the chance to go into any kind of work you wanted, say 5 years from now...")? | |

| July 1973 version | July 1974 version |
|---|---|
| (Checklist answer-categories as for (1)) | |
| (*Note*: For purposes of comparison with answers to the *single* July 1974 question shown in the right-hand column, responses to items (1) and (2) were *combined*.[1] Additionally, they were collapsed from the original five checklist-categories for (1) and (2) into the three categories shown below, equated with the "July 1974" item's answer-categories as the arrows indicate.) | (1)-(2) Do you think you probably *will* be doing that *kind* of work (i.e., ideal-job-for-age 32-or-33) at age 32 or 33, or not?" |
| | Checklist answer-categories provided were: |
| "Very likely" | "Yes, I'm pretty sure I will." |
| "Somewhat likely"<br>and<br>"50-50 chance" | "I hope so, and I expect to try." |
| "Somewhat unlikely"<br>and<br>"Very unlikely" | "I'm not very hopeful that I can."<br>and<br>"I probably won't be." |

*Changes in levels of optimism among in-school women*.--All told, then, after consolidating original responses to both of the "July 1973" items (1) and (2) into a single set of answers, for a combined "(1)-(2)" question on "whether could get ideal job," there were a total of four different questionnaire items with respect to each one of which shifts in E and C women's levels of optimism or pessimism about their future job possibilities could be compared. Data obtained from all of these comparisons for in-school women are summarized in Table 23.

---

[1] For the combined version of "July 1973" items (1) and (2), the following principle was observed in deciding *how* to "combine" answers to the two items: With respect to any individual girl's responses, whichever of her two answers specified the *highest* degree of assurance of getting her ideal occupation was retained, and the other answer dropped.

Although the principal purpose of this table is to provide numerical measures of the Careers Project's effect with respect to each of the four items, as in columns (d) or (e), columns (a), (b), and (c) show how the "effect" measures were calculated. The specific procedure used here to avoid what has been termed ceiling distortions is stated in the footnote below.[1]

---

[1] To ask, "What is the proportion of persons who gave 'more optimistic' answers in July 1974 than in July 1973?" implies that one ought to consider only such persons as were free to be "more" optimistic the second time around. This means, in turn, that any person who had already given the "most optimistic" possible answer the first time was logically not in a position to be more optimistic the second time. Thus, her presence in the calculation, if she were not excluded, would only serve to lower, artificially, the final result.

Take as an example the "65 percent" cited earlier in the text, the proportion of E in-schoolers who gave more optimistic "July 1974" responses to the "no use training blacks..." question. Consider that 65 percent in relation to the distribution of these same persons' "July 1973" answers, as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Agree very much (1973) | (N=) | 3 |
| Agree a little | | 5 |
| Disagree a little | | 9 |
| Disagree very much | | 15 |
| Total | N= | 32 |

Had the fifteen "Disagree very much" persons (the "most optimistic" in July 1973) been included in the denominator for computing the proportion who became "more optimistic" a year later, then the resulting proportion would have been 34 percent (= 11/32) instead of 65 percent (= 11/17).

Ceiling distortion was not a factor at all, or not a serious one, in Tables 17 and 21 presented earlier in this chapter, pertaining to choices of ideal occupations and perceptions of educational requirements. Therefore, no precautions to guard against it were taken in preparing the data for those tables.

First, column (a) shows the proportions of E and C women, respectively, whose July 1974 answers were *more* optimistic than their July 1973 responses to the *same* questions. On item (3), for example, the total proportion of E's who upgraded their July 1973 opinions (concerning the alleged uselessness of job-training for blacks) from "agree a little" to either "disagree a little" or "disagree strongly" in July 1974, or from "agree very much" to any of the more optimistic response-categories, or from "disagree a little" to "disagree strongly," was 65 percent. (*An important technical note, in passing, on procedures used to avoid "ceiling" distortions in computing the "columns (a)" proportions*): The "65 percent" just cited refers not to 65 percent of *all 32* in-school E women, but to 65 percent of only *17 of them*. The reason for this adjustment in the "65 percent" denominator--as in the denominators of all "column (a)" proportions shown--has to do with the elimination of "ceiling" distortion, an artificial and potentially seriously biasing statistical quirk that is inherent in the analysis of attitude-change data. (Refer for explanations to footnote on previous page.)

Columns (a) data provide a basis for seeing how much more (or less) frequently E in-schoolers' levels of hopefulness had increased than C's had, by July 1974, on each of the four items. For example, on item (4), "most in this country don't want better jobs for blacks," the E and C proportions of persons who had become more optimistic were 39 and 16 percent, respectively; these proportions differed statistically to a significant degree ($P < .10$). Thus, one could tentatively conclude that the Careers Project had indeed been responsible for the E in-schoolers to become more helpful, in this respect at least.

## TABLE 23

Effects That Careers Program Had on Levels of Optimism-Pessimism Among IN-SCHOOL (i.e., ENROLLED SEPTEMBER 1973) WOMEN; With Respect to Changes in Their Responses to Four Questions Concerning Future Job Opportunities

| QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS (Numbered as in Tables 1:1,2, Chapter 1) | Columns(a)** % Who Changed to MORE OPTIMISTIC Responses/1974 | | Columns(b)** % Who Changed to LESS OPTIMISTIC Responses/1974 | | Columns(c) = "(a)"+"(b)" "ON-BALANCE" SHIFT TO OPTIMISM | | Column(d) "(c)-for-E's Minus "(c)"-for-C's EFFECT OF PROGRAM | Column(e) "(d)"-EFFECT SCALED TO MAXIMUM POSSIBLE RANGE 0 TO + 1.00 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | E | C | E | C | E | C | | |
| (1)-(2)Whether Could Get Ideal Job | 43%* | 29%* | -18% | -27% | 25% | 2% | .23 | .23 |
| (3)No Use Training Blacks, Whites Wouldn't Hire | 65%* | 58%* | -21% | -25% | 44% | 33% | .11 | .16 |
| (4)Most in U.S. Don't Want Better Jobs for Blacks | 39%* | 16%* | -33% | -52% | 6% | -36% | .42 | .31 |
| (5)Even If Had More Skills Wouldn't Get to Use | 45%* | 38%* | -25% | -31% | 20% | 7% | .13 | .14 |

* Significance Levels for E-C percent differences in columns(a) are:
Item (1)-(2): P ($X^2$ = .51 for 1 d.f.) < .52
(3): P ($X^2$ = .00 for 1 d.f.) < .99
(4): P ($X^2$ = 2.91 for 1 d.f.) > .10
(5): P ($X^2$ = .02 for 1 d.f.) < .90

**See discussions in text concerning adjustments made in order to eliminate "ceiling" and "floor" distortions.

However, to rely on the columns (a) data alone for that conclusion would be misleading, because columns (b)--which show the proportions of E and C women who became less optimistic over the program year--indicate[1] that there were large proportions of both E and C women who became less optimistic on item (4): -33 percent and -52 percent, respectively. In other words, it is important, in gauging whether the program had an effect, to ask not only "To what extent did E's' levels of hopefulness increase, compared to C's'?" (columns (a)); but also to ask, "To what extent did E's' levels of pessimism increase, compared to C's'?" (columns (b))--and then to see if E's more frequently became hopeful than C's did on balance (columns (c)).

The columns (c) data pertaining to item (4), 6 percent and -36 percent for E's and C's, show three things of interest:

First, there was virtually no change on balance, in the direction of hopefulness among E's; the proportions of "more..." and "less optimistic," E in-schoolers in July 1974--39 percent and -33 percent--nearly cancelled each other out.

Second, among C in-schoolers there was a net change in the pessimistic direction on this item, the 16 percent "more hopeful" and the -52 percent "less hopeful" among C's adding up on balance to -36 percent.

Third, therefore, the Careers Project did influence E group opinions significantly as to the proposition that "Most Americans don't want blacks to have better jobs"; but the nature of this effect was not so much to cause them to be more often optimistic than C's were. Rather, the program's effect was, instead, to prevent E's from becoming as pessimistic, in this regard, as they otherwise would have become, without the program's intervention.

What all this adds up to, numerically, is summarized by the figures in columns (d) and (e). Column (d) merely shows what the column (c)-for-E's-minus-column (c)-for-C's difference is (as, for example, with respect to item (4): .42 = .06-(-.36)). Finally, column (e) puts the column (d) result on a scale of 0 to 1.00, so that the reader can gauge quickly just how strong the program's effect was compared to what it might have been at the maximum possible level represented by 1.00[1], for each of the four items.

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[1] All "columns (b)" proportions have been so calculated as to eliminate "floor" distortions, by means of exactly the same procedures as were described earlier in connection with avoidance of "ceiling" distortions in columns (a).

What does all this add up to, in substantive terms? Basically, two conclusions:

For only one of the four "future job-opportunities" questions were the E-versus-C percentage-differences in Table 23 sufficiently large, or "statistically significant" enough,[2] to permit confidence in a judgment that these differences represented a true effect of the program. This was item (4), pertaining to the assertion that most Americans don't want better jobs for blacks. Parenthetically, this result raises the question of what there may have been about item (4)'s wording that resulted in the program's influencing levels of optimism-pessimism significantly only with respect to that item, and not the others. (No exploration of this matter can be indulged in here, however.)

Even for this one item, the program's effect does not seem to have been a very strong one. One conclusion that these Table 23 results suggest, then, is that, when the four "job-opportunities" questions are considered one at a time, as they were here, the program apparently had very little impact on E in-schoolers' dispositions to be either hopeful or despairing about their futures.

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[1] The formula for carrying out this transformation of scale is:

$$\frac{(\text{"E"col(c)}) \text{ minus } (\text{"C"col(c)})}{100\% \text{ minus } (\text{"C"col(c)})}$$

"E" column (c) would be 100 percent at the level of "maximum possible effect," because "E" column (a) would then be 100 percent and "E" column (b) would then be 0, making "E" column (c) = 100-0. This, in turn, causes the formula to reach its maximum value of 1.00.

[2] No satisfactory significance test exists for the data in Table 23 as a whole (for each item). For just the "columns (a)" data alone, the conventional chi-square test is suitable, and chi-square probabilities for columns (a) are shown in a footnote to the table. These may be regarded as an approximation to results that a test applicable to the data "as a whole" would yield if there were one.

Yet, the fact remains that, for every one of the four items, Experimental group women's response-shifts, on balance, were always more frequently in an "optimistic" direction than the Control group women's were. This fact suggests the second conclusion; namely, that the program had perhaps had a strong influence, after all, upon in-school E's' feelings of hopefulness or despair about their futures, but that no one of the separate "job-opportunities" questions, taken singly, had been sensitive enough by itself to reflect the effect's strength.

If so, might not such an effect's traces come through more convincingly if a suitable method could be devised for comparing the E and C data on response-shirts for all four items together, instead of one at a time?

Analysis of data on in-school women's response-shifts for all four "job opportunities" items simultaneously.--An appropriate procedure for this purpose was devised, and Tables 24A and B demonstrate its outcomes. Table 24A shows what proportions of E and C in-schoolers, respectively, shifted to more optimistic responses in July 1974 (than in July 1973) on (any) two of the four items; what proportions on only one item; and what proportions on no items. (None of the in-schoolers, either E's or C's, responded with greater optimism in July 1974 to as many as three items).

The 9 E and 10 C women in this table, obviously fewer in number than the total 32 E and 35 C in-schoolers, were all persons who, in July 1973, had given less-than-"most optimistic" responses to every one of the items (if they had chosen to do so). In other words, these 9 E and 10 C respondents were the only ones who satisfied the same "below-the-ceiling" criterion for every one of the pertinent items in July 1973 that was described earlier, on a single-item basis, in discussing results in Table 23. (See the parenthetical "technical note, in passing" in that discussion.) Excluded from the table was every person who had given a "most optimistic" response to any one or more of the items in July 1973, and who therefore could not have responded more favorably to all four items, if she had wanted to.

The data in Table 24A are revealing on two counts. First, they show that no in-school young woman had become much more hopeful, "across the board," in July 1974 than she had been a year earlier, that she responded more favorably to all four, or even to as many as three

## TABLES 24A and B*

### (A): Whether IN-SCHOOL (i.e., ENROLLED SEPTEMBER 1973) WOMEN Gave MORE OPTIMISTIC Responses in July 1974 (Than July 1973) to 3, 2, 1 or None of the Four Questions on Future Job Opportunities; by Whether in E or C Group

| No. of Items Out of Four to Which/ Gave MORE OPTIMISTIC Responses / | E | C |
|---|---|---|
| 3 | --% | --% |
| 2 | 67 | 20 |
| 1 | 22 | 50 |
| 0 | 11 | 30 |
| Totals | 100%<br>(N=9)** | 100%<br>(N=10)** |

### (B): Whether IN-SCHOOL (i.e., ENROLLED SEPTEMBER 1973) WOMEN Gave LESS OPTIMISTIC Responses in July 1974 (Than July 1973) to 3, 2, 1 or None of the Four Questions on Future Job Opportunities; by Whether in E or C Group

| No. of Items Out of Four to Which/ Gave LESS OPTIMISTIC Responses / | | E | | C |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | 93% | (33% | 56% | (28% |
| 1 | | (60 | | (28 |
| 2 | | -- | | 33 |
| 3 | | 7 | | 11 |
| Totals | | 100%<br>(N=15)** | | 100%<br>(N=18)** |

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* Significance levels are P < .06 for "(A)" and P < .02 for "(B)"; as calculated by a direct-enumeration-of-probabilities method for very small samples, on the assumption that (A) is collapsed into the two-by-two table

| | E | C |
|---|---|---|
| 3,2 | | |
| 1,0 | | |

and (B) into the table

| | E | C |
|---|---|---|
| 0,1 | | |
| 2,3 | | |

**E and C groups in (A) did not include all in-school women and were not the same as E and C groups in (B). All four groups resulted from applying procedures to eliminate "ceiling" and "floor" distortions. See discussions in text.

items. Thus, such increases in hopefulness as did occur were plainly of limited degree and scope.

But, within the context of these limited increases, the comparative data show that there was a pronounced difference between the proportions of E's and C's who gave more optimistic responses to (any) two items; 67 percent and 20 percent, respectively (a difference that the significance level of $P = .06$ indicates was highly unlikely to have been caused by any factors other than influences attributable to the Careers Project). Thus, there is little doubt that the program did have a measurable, if limited, "positive" impact upon E in-schoolers' expectations about their future possibilities.

Table 24B makes exactly the same point in a reverse sense; in comparing the proportions of in-school E's and C's who shifted in a less optimistic direction, on three of the four items, or on two, or on one; or on none. (Again, analogously to the explanation given previously for the screening out of Table 24A of persons who did not meet the "below-the-ceiling" criterion on all items in their July 1973 responses, Table 24B excludes all who did not meet an "above the floor" criterion in their "July 1973" responses on all items. That is to say, the 15 E's and 18 C's in Table 24B were all of the people who had given more-than-"least optimistic" responses in July 1973 to every one of the job-opportunity items; and who were therefore in a position to respond less optimistically to every one of the items in July 1974.)

As can be seen, of the fifteen E's, only seven percent, one person expressed greater pessimism (than in July 1973) on more than one item. Among the eighteen C's, by contrast, 44 percent gave more pessimistic responses on two or three items. (This E-versus-C percentage-difference was highly significant, with $P < .02$.) These data, then, demonstrate that the program also exerted a measurable impact in preventing as many E women from becoming increasingly pessimistic about their prospects, during the program year, as otherwise would have been so without the program's intervention.

Changes in levels of optimism among out-of-school women.--As for those young women who were out-of-school, Table 25 presents the same kinds of data, pertaining to changes in levels of hopefulness with respect to each one of the four job-opportunities items considered separately, that Table 23 did for in-school persons. Tables 26A and B present, for out-of-school women, the same kinds of

## TABLE 25

### Effects That Careers Project Had on Levels of Optimism-[illegible]ssimism Among OUT-OF-SCHOOL (i.e., ENROLLED SEPTEMBER 1973) WOMEN (Only) [illegible]th Respect To Changes in Their Responses to Four Questions Concerning Future [illegible] Opportunities

| QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS (Numbered as in Tables 1:1,2, Chapter 1) | Columns(a)** % Who Changed to MORE OPTIMISTIC Responses/1974 | | Columns(b)** % Who Changed to LESS OPTIMISTIC Responses/1974 | | Columns(c) = "(a)"+"(b)" "ON-BALANCE" SHIFT TO OPTIMISM | | Column(d) "(c)-for-E's Minus "(c)"-for-C's EFFECT OF PROGRAM | Column(e) "(d)"-EFFECT SCALED TO MAXIMUM POSSIBLE RANGE 0 TO + 1.00 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | E | C | E | C | E | C | | |
| (1)-(2)Whether Could Get Ideal Job | 27%* | 9%* | -36% | -33% | - 9% | -24% | .15 | .12 |
| (3)No Use Training Blacks, Whites Wouldn't Hire | 64%* | 40%* | - 8% | -27% | 56% | 13% | .43 | .49 |
| (4)Most in U. S. Don't Want Better Jobs for Blacks | 57%* | 18%* | -13% | -33% | 44% | -15% | .59 | .51 |
| (5)Even If Had More Skills Wouldn't Get to Use | 50%* | 50%* | -54% | -50% | - 4% | -% | -.04 | -.04 |

*Significance Levels for E-C percent differences in columns(a) are:

Item (1)-(2): $P(X^2 = .31$ for 1 d.f.) $< .50$
(3): $P(X^2 = .42$ for 1 d.f.) $< .50$
(4): $P(X^2 = 2.44$ for 1 d.f.) $> .25$
(5): $P(X^2 = .23$ for 1 d.f.) $< .50$

**See discussions in text concerning adjustments made in order to eliminate "ceiling" and "floor" distortions.

## TABLES 26A and B*

(A): Whether OUT-OF-SCHOOL (i.e., NOT ENROLLED SEPTEMBER 1973 WOMEN Gave MORE OPTIMISTIC Responses in July 1974 Than in July 1973) to 3, 2, 1 or None of the Four Questions on Future Job Opportunities; by Whether in E or C Group

| No. of Items Out of Four to Which/ Gave MORE OPTIMISTIC Responses / | E | | | C | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | 83% | (33% | (2) | 29% | (--% | (-) |
| 2 | | (50 | (3) | | (29 | (2) |
| 1 | | 17 | (1) | | 29 | (2) |
| 0 | | -- | (-) | | 43 | (3) |
| Totals | | 100%<br>(N=6) | | | 100%<br>(N=7) | |

(B): Whether OUT-OF-SCHOOL (i.e., NOT ENROLLED SEPTEMBER 1973 WOMEN Gave LESS OPTIMISTIC Responses in July 1974 Than in July 1973) to 3, 2, 1 or None of the Four Questions on Future Job Opportunities; by Whether in E or C Group

| No. of Items Out of Four to Which/ Gave LESS OPTIMISTIC Responses / | E | | C |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | --% | (-) | |
| 1 | 40 | (2) | |
| 2 | 40 | (2) | |
| 3 | 20 | (1) | |
| Totals | 100%<br>(N=5) | | (N=0) |

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* Significance level for "(A)" is $P < .08$, calculated by the method noted in footnote to Tables 24A and B.

"all-four-items-in-combination" data that appeared in Tables 24A and B for in-school persons.

Results for out-of-schoolers were, by and large, about like the "in-school" outcomes. That is to say, first, when E-versus-C comparisons as to changes in levels of hopefulness are carried out on a separate item-by-item basis, as in Table 25, one can see that none of the differences between proportions of E and C women becoming more optimistic (or between those becoming less so) was large enough to justify a firm conclusion that the program itself had produced changes in E out-of-schoolers' feelings about their prospects. Nevertheless, second, E's' responses did shift consistently more often than C's' did in the direction of greater optimism with respect to three of the four separate items. This fact raises the possibility that the program might have had a kind of impact--upon out-of-school E's, just as among in-school women--that no one of the separate items had been sensitive enough by itself to pick up adequately.

Finally, when as in Table 26A, an E-versus-C comparison was carried out that did take into account responses to all of the items at once instead of singly, this comparison--in which 80 percent (five) of the six E women, in contrast to 29 percent (two) of the seven C women gave more optimistic responses on at least two of the four items--showed that the program did indeed exert an effect toward greater optimism among out-of-school E's. (Notwithstanding the very small numbers of cases on which the foregoing finding was based namely, 6 E's and 7 C's--the percentage-difference between them was significant ($P > .08$).)

Despite the resemblance between the in- and out-of-school E women's outcomes, however, there were also some important contrasts. One of them is indicated in Table 26B, which shows--just for five out-of-school E's and no C's[1]--how many responded less optimistically than in the preceding year to three items, to two items, to one item, and to none. This table suggests that, even though evidence in Table 26A pointed to the program's having influenced (some) out-of-school E's toward greater optimism, there were other out-of-school E's whose expectations shifted the other way, toward a more pessimistic outlook, during the program year.

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[1] There were no Control group women who met the "above-the-floor" criterion for inclusion in Table 26B, of having given more-than-least favorable responses in July 1973 to every one of the job-opportunity questions.

In so many words, the Careers Project might well have had contradictory effects among the out-of-school E group, insofar as their feelings of confidence about their future prospects were concerned. This was not the case among the in-school group, for whom the program's impact had evidently been entirely in the direction of greater optimism (Tables 24A and B).

There was also a second way in which the findings pertaining to in- and out-of-schoolers differed. Among in-schoolers, there was no apparent pattern, from one individual job-opportunities item to the next, in the relative strengths of the separate program "effects" for particular items (Table 25, column (e)). In a strict sense, use of the term "effect" in this way, to characterize the "column (e)" results for any individual item, is incorrect, inasmuch as (with the exception of the result for item (4)) none of these "effects" was significantly large enough, statistically, to justify use of the term. Nevertheless, its use, although imprecise, will facilitate the making of the point now under consideration.

Among out-of-schoolers, by contrast, such a pattern does become immediately evident, in Table 25, column (e). These data show plainly that there were two job-opportunities items with respect to each of which the program did tend to have relatively strong effects among out-of-school women, toward greater optimism--item (3), "No use training blacks, whites wouldn't hire them anyway (effect score .49 on a scale of 0 to 1.00), and item (4), "Most people in this country don't want better jobs for blacks" (effect score .51); and two items with respect to which the program had little impact--item (1)-(2), "Whether could get ideal job" (effect score .12)--or none whatever--item (5), "Even if had more skills, wouldn't get a chance to use them" (effect score -.04).

The two "strong effect-score" items (3) and (4), have in common that both of them refer only to job prospects for black Americans generally, and not to the specific personal outlook for any particular out-of-school person who was being asked to state her opinions on these matters. Conversely, the two "little-or-no-effect-score" items (1)-(2) and (5), have in common that both of them refer to the individual prospect for each girl herself who was responding to these questions.

One can hardly avoid the conclusion, therefore, that insofar as those in the out-of-school E group did tend *to become more optimistic as a result of their participation* in the Careers Project, it was only with respect to the general outlook that they perceived to exist for all black men and women, undifferentiated, and not with respect to their own personal futures.

"Having had a job during the program year" as a potential factor in the program's impact upon levels of hope.--Did the fact of having had a job, while participating in the program, contribute in any way to the program's influence on young women's expectations about their future job opportunities?

This question would seem to have been even more applicable to out-of-school than to in-school women, in view of both the out-of-schoolers' need to have immediate full-time jobs (as opposed to the part-time and/or temporary ones that were suitable for persons in school); and of the important part that the Careers Project itself had had in obtaining employment for experimental group out-of-schoolers.

The question could not be answered statistically for out-of-school women, owing primarily to the fact that fourteen of the fifteen E out-of-schoolers had had jobs during the program year. Thus, there was only one out-of-school E woman who had not worked at all between July 1973 and July 1974.

As for in-schoolers (of whom necessary minimum numbers of both "employed" and "unemployed" were available for analytic purposes), having had or not having had a job seemed to make no consistent difference whatever, as a factor in the program's effect upon their levels of optimism concerning the future. Apparently the kinds of part-time and temporary jobs that these young women had obtained through the Careers Project were not perceived as having had any pertinence to the question of what opportunities might await them later, after completing additional years of schooling.

### Having or Not Having Specific Plans for the Realization of an Occupational Goal

The relationship between action and the desire to achieve provided the basis for a second test of the Project's effectiveness in changing the "absence of achievement-orientation."

> Motivation...refers primarily to action, to doing something rather than doing nothing...That something

> rather than doing nothing...That something can be overt or covert; it can entail skeletal, perceptual, or cognitive behavior. Secondly, motivation refers to... directed...action...acts that seem likely to lead to goal attainment...[1]

By this standard, a young woman having reached the stage, in the process of becoming "socialized to work," of having decided on a preferred occupation that she would like to achieve "if free to choose," was not enough; not necessarily evidence, in itself, that she had translated that idealized *preference* into an actual career *goal*--an end for which she was prepared to strive in specific ways, by taking concrete actions and making definite plans. Taking action, making plans, then, could presumably be considered a kind of litmus test to distinguish persons who had developed relatively strong "achievement-orientations" from those who had not.

A number of different questions about educational plans and expectations were asked in *July 1974* (only; not in July 1973). Thus, a test could be devised that could make use of the "consistency-of-response" principle, to increase the likelihood that a young women's statements of intent, about her educational plans, represented a genuine commitment to a plan of action, and not merely a kind of lip-service obeisance to the general idea of "getting an education," as a socially approved thing to do.

In particular, there were four specific criteria by means of which the internal consistency of a person's responses might be judged. The first such criterion, "Whether specified a level of education to be required for one's ideal occupation that was *higher* than one's own *actual* grade level at the present time," was a screening device. Its purpose was to exclude from the sample to whom the "consistency" test would be applied any who might have specified required levels of schooling that were *not* higher than the grade-levels that they themselves had already completed. (Were such a young woman to offer a statement of intent to acquire further education, her statement would not be worth very much as an indicator of the will to achieve an occupational goal.)

The remaining three criteria were these:

(1) Whether a person *expected* to obtain more education than her last completed grade level. This information was ascertained by matching answers to the series of questions, "Do you expect to complete the next grade level?", "...graduate from high school?", "...go on to college?" with answers to the question, "What was the last grade you completed?";

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[1] Stotland, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

(2) Whether she expected to try to get the level of education (whatever it was) that she had perceived as required for her ideal job;

(3) Whether she expected to resume studies right away, i.e., by September or October 1974, the fall semester immediately following--within eight to twelve weeks of the date on which she responded to the question, "Do you plan to pick up your school studies again any time soon; by returning to classes, or starting a home study course, or going to college, or whatever?" Checklist answer-categories: "Yes, ...right away, this September of October," and "Other..."

Results for in-school women.--Among in-school women, there were 30 (of the 32) E group and 30 (of the 35) C group who satisfied the screening requirement, by specifying higher levels of education to be required for their ideal occupations than the levels that they themselves had already completed.

Among the "screened," there was almost no difference between E and C in-schoolers in the proportions who satisfied all three of the remaining criteria by responding "positively" to all of the indicated items concerning educational plans and expectations; 73 and 67 percent, respectively.

Plainly, then, the program did not substantially increase the frequency with which in-school women voiced a consistent itention to follow through with concrete plans to achieve desired careers, over what that frequency would have been without the program.

There are alternative ways to look at this result. One of them is to conclude tentatively that the Careers Project may have contained no elements that were capable of strengthening in-school women's will to achieve. Another is to conclude that, whether or not the program contained such strengthening capabilities, they were not especially needed; i.e., that the very fact of these young women's being in-school was evidence, in itself of a high level of motivation to achieve; so that those in the in-school C group were about as likely as those in the E group to have developed concrete, consistent plans for the future.

Frequencies of consistent intentions among out-of-school women.--Twelve (of the 15) E out-of-schoolers and 11 (of the 12) C's satisfied the screening criterion. There was a difference in the frequencies with which these persons satisfied all three of the remaining "consistency" criteria--58 percent of the E's and 27 percent of the C's (but this difference was not a significant one owing largely to the small numbers of cases in the comparison.[1] Thus one cannot regard this percent-difference as persuasive evidence that the program had a genuine effect in strengthening the will to achieve among out-of-school women. It does suggest that there was at least a tendency of this kind, however weak though it may have been.

Juxtaposing this result alongside two of the earlier ones reported for out-of-schoolers suggests a way in which the program may have been effective that the numbers do not quite capture:

| | E<br>Out-of-School | C<br>Out-of-School |
|---|---|---|
| Changes in levels of occupational aspirations in 1974, compared to 1973 (Table 18) | Tended to lower ideal occupational choice levels in 1974 | Tended to raise ideal occupational choice levels in 1974 |
| Changes in levels of education perceived as required (Table 21) | Tended to perceive same-level educational requirements in 1974 | Tended to perceive higher levels of educational requirements in 1974 |
| Consistency of educational plans (the finding just reported) | 58 percent were "consistent" in plans to get required education | 27 percent were "consistent" in plans to get required education |

The above juxtaposition can be seen to suggest that, although out-of-school E's were often induced to revise their aspirations downward by the end of the program year--in marked contrast to the C's, whose tendency was to raise their aspirations--the E group women were more often prepared to follow through to realize their aspirations. This pattern implies, in turn, that E's were tending to bring preferences and plans into closer alignment than C's were. The disparity between C's' tendency to upgrade their preferences, on the one hand, and to be inconsistent about their intentions to follow through in order to turn preferences into goals, on the other, conveys a certain "pie in the sky" flavor.

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[1] $P(X^2 = 1.07$ for one d.f.) > .50 .25. (Yates' correction was used in the computation. Without it, ($P\ X^2 = 2.07$ for one d.f.) > .25.)

If this interpretation is correct, then E out-of-school women, as a group, could well have derived from their participation in the Careers Project an ability to think much more seriously and carefully about future alternatives than was evident among out-of-school C group women.

### Remaining in School

A third and last type of data selected to serve as an indicator of the program's impact upon orientations toward achievement was not "attitudinal," but a measure of actual behavior: Whether a person remained in school (if enrolled) during the 1973-1974 school year and completed the year's work.

The rationale on the basis of which this indicator was selected was the same rationale that prompted use of the "consistency-of-educational-plans" test, just discussed; namely the centrality of action, of goal-directed behavior, to the concept of motivation. On the supposition, therefore, that those who stay in school and persevere academically do so largely because they desire to make something of their lives (whatever other factors might also combine to keep them there, such as social pressure from members of their families or from other important reference figures), those who stay in school, by the fact of staying, thereby evidence greater determination to achieve than do drop-outs. By its nature, this indicator could not be utilized in comparisons between out-of-school experimental and control groups; the definition of "out of school" for this study having been non-enrollment for classes in September-October 1973 or thereafter.

Results for in-school women.--Conversely, the 67 "in-school" women were all of those who did enroll for classes in the autumn months of 1973. Of these, one out of every three dropped out at various stages between enrollment and conclusion of the spring term of 1974.

The rate of remaining in school for the entire year was better, but not markedly so, for E's (72 percent) than for C's (60 percent).[1] Again, as with some of the other results reported earlier, this E-versus-C difference was "in the right direction" to indicate that the program had perhaps been effective in strengthening desires for achievement, but was not sufficiently pronounced to stand as convincing evidence on that score.

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[1] P ($X^2$ = .59 for 1 d.f.) > .25.

## Some Summary Observations

Do the data that have been presented in this chapter point to some single, overarching conclusion, concerning the program's influence upon the attitudes and orientations of experimental group young women, that only needs to be stated to be seen as valid? Probably not. There is no unifying generalization that would sum up all or most of the findings in an appropriate and useful way.

However, a few general observations are suggested by the findings:

(1) Most of the effects that the program had were small ones; not necessarily "small" in terms of the magnitudes of changes brought about within individuals, but more particularly in terms of the numbers of individuals affected.

(2) Most young women who came into the program came in with horizons apparently as wide and aspirations about as high as those of young people generally in the United States. This explains why the program's effects were least--in fact, were non-existent, in any statistical sense--where widening of horizons or raising of aspirations was concerned; this being so not because the program's activities were necessarily unsuited to the raising of aspirations, had there been any occasion to do so; but because the occasion did not arise.

One respect in which the program appeared to have been most effective was in changing of experimental group young women's perceptions of reality--their understandings of the natures of the occupations they were contemplating trying to enter and the requirements they would need to satisfy in order to develop such careers.

Rather marked contrasts between in-school and out-of-school young women's ways of reacting to their experiences in the program were a constant and recurring feature:

(a) In-school women tended, as a group, to be both relatively optimistic about their future prospects and achievement-oriented to begin with. For them, the program appeared to have been chiefly important in reconfirming original tendencies or dispositions, by reinforcing morale and by giving added encouragement, as well as enlarging stores of detailed information about occupations.

(b) For out-of-school women, the program's contribution was more complex. It did not have the effect of encouraging them on balance to become more hopeful about their future opportunities than at the beginning; nor did it cause them to become less so. It did cause them to lower their sights somewhat and think in terms of trying for careers in occupations that would be less difficult for them to enter than those they had preferred at the outset.

# X. CONCLUSIONS

Sensible conclusions about this particular demonstration project's effectiveness, together with recommendations regarding its replication, can hardly be set forth without at least raising the question as to the levels of opportunities for employment that can be anticipated in the future. This is so both because the young women who participated in the study (and others like them who might participate in future projects) are naturally concerned with their own prospects, and because the empirical results cannot be interpreted properly without reference to the question of the availability of employment. The conclusions growing out of this demonstration project are meaningless unless measures are taken to create jobs. Nor is there any point in replicating thie project unless employment opportunities can be created for the potential participants. Let us turn, then, to a discussion of conclusions of this study, and of their implications for manpower policy, as well as for replication.

## Attitudes Toward Work

Do ghetto youth want to work? Are they poorly motivated? These questions have been the focus of debate for years in manpower circles. It is difficult to imagine a more ludicrous debate. The poor have done the harshest work at the meanest wages since the beginning of history. Nevertheless, the tendency of manpower policy has been to assume that ghetto youth are poorly motivated. Millions of dollars have been spent since the early 1960's on training programs which were designed, in one way or another, to cope with what was defined as the aspirational deficiencies of poor youth, especially poor minority youth. The chief source of youth unemployment, in other words, has been attributed to the personal defects of young people, not to the structural defects of the economy or to those of governmental policy.

There is evidence from a variety of sources, including data from this project, which reveals this premise to be fallacious. The 1972 Manpower Report of the President in a discussion of work attitudes of the young noted

> The negative attitudes of young people toward work have often been mentioned as one of the main reasons for teenage unemployment. Unrealistic expectations are cited with respect to wages as well as hours, working conditions, and responsibilities. Concrete information on this subject is very thin and somewhat contradictory. According to a longitudinal study, in process at Ohio State University, young men's occupational aspirations are high though eventually adjusted downward. Some individuals, particularly Negro youngsters, tend to

> have aspirations higher than are warranted by their backgrounds, as well as the general odds against achieving the desired status in life.
>
> But an examination of young people's actual job-hunting experiences in the summer of 1969 raises some doubts about the "unrealistic expectations" argument....
>
> Data from an October 1969 survey indicate furthermore that young people, whether in or out of school, are strongly work oriented and fairly realistic in their wage expectations. The proportion of unemployed youth who turn down jobs is relatively small, and they most often do so for generally acceptable reasons (such as their imminent return to school or entrance into military service). Similarly, although the proportion of unemployed youth who quit jobs is high, most do not leave because of unwillingness to adapt to the work regimen or unrealistic expectations. The reasons for quitting most often relate, instead, to special problems affecting this age group...and to an individual's efforts to find the kind of work for which he is best fitted.[1]

Added evidence in support of the view that disadvantaged are not demonstrably different with respect to motivation to work may be found in Joel F. Handler's Reforming the Poor[2] and in Leonard Goodwin's Do the Poor Want to Work. Goodwin, for example, having analyzed data from a survey of more than 4,000 persons, both poor and affluent, unambiguously concludes that "poor people--males and females, black and white, youths and adults--identify their self-esteem with work as strongly as do the non-poor."[3] Another expert sums up the matter in these words: "Disadvantaged people are psychologically no different from anyone else, at least as far as employability is concerned....Evidence suggests that disadvantagement is more likely maintained by lack of incentives than lack of motivation."[4] The lack of jobs itself can be an important disincentive. Findings from this demonstration project support this conclusion.

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[1] U. S. Department of Labor, Manpower Report of the President. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1972, pp. 85-86.

[2] Joel F. Handler, Reforming the Poor. New York: Basic Books, 1972.

[3] Leonard Goodwin, Do the Poor Want to Work: A Social-Psychological Study of Work Orientation. Washington, D. C: The Brookings Institution, 1972.

[4] Jesse E. Gordon, "What Shapes Poverty Programs," Manpower, vol. 3, no. 4, April 1971, pp. 3 and 6.

## Training Programs: Their Credibility

The fact that this demonstration program was notably successful in obtaining high levels of participation leads to a consideration of the credibility of training programs, especially among minority youths.

The overriding fact about the performance of many (if not most) of the manpower programs operated over the past decade and a half has been the repeatedly demonstrated failure to retain trainees. One observer put the point this way: "For years the Federal government has struggled to develop effective programs for training the chronic unemployed, high school drop-outs, welfare mothers and other unskilled persons for jobs in private industry. Although the programs have cost about $6 billion, friends as well as foes agree that only a small proportion of the 6.4 million persons who were in the programs have really been helped.... There is little trouble in finding people to take the training, but most who start do not finish...."[1]

Although opinions have differed as to the causes of these bleak facts, it now seems reasonable to conclude that the principal cause has been the continued inability of training programs to obtain jobs for those who have become "employable." Even when trainees have completed training, most have not been able to find jobs. And of those who did, few found jobs at the skill levels for which they were trained, much less jobs offering a decent wage or the opportunity for eventual advancement. This point, too, has been recognized: Of those who do finish training, many cannot find jobs. Even those who work complain that the jobs are low-level, dead-end work such as porters, janitors, cooks and clerks. Even persons trained in skills often are not hired in their field but are placed in unwanted jobs. Critics point to apathy and disillusionment of minorities who have completed programs but have not found jobs because of economics or racial discrimination."[2] Harold L. Sheppard of the Upjohn Institute for Employment Research argues that "Training programs are doomed before they start in a period of rising unemployment. 'How are you going to train people during a recession geared to high unemployment? Train them for what? If you think there was frustration during the sixties, you haven't seen anything yet.'"[3] Sheppard made these comments during the recession of 1970; he could only have spoken more strongly had he been speaking at this moment, at this time of unemployment rates reaching levels that prevailed in 1940, the closing year of the Great Depression.

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[1] Paul Delaney, "Congress to Evaluate Manpower Program," New York Times, February 20, 1970.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

To some extent, this general point has been recognized by Congress. "At the hearings before the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty held on this legislation (i.e., S. 3867, the 'Employment and Training Opportunities Act of 1970')... the committee learned that manpower programs are now not only hopelessly out of scale with the dimension of the problem (24,000 training slots in Los Angeles where the documented need is for 240,000 slots) but that existing programs are undermined because of an acute shortage of jobs for those who graduate."[1] Here, then, is the probable cause of the failure of programs to retain trainees, for "People are likely to drop out of programs if they see that friends and neighbors who finish before them are unable to obtain jobs or other promised benefits."[2]

One policy implication is evident. No training program should be undertaken which cannot provide reasonable guarantees from the outset that either employment or more advanced training opportunities will result at the point of completion.

## Education and Jobs: The Resumption of School

One of the findings of this program was that the members of the experimental group were likely to be influenced to become more hopeful and thus to make plans to resume their studies. Most of those who were not in school had been out of school for more than a year. It is our view that the Careers Project had gained their confidence in no small measure through its success in helping them to find jobs. Having demonstrated that jobs could be gotten, the project staff were then able to convince the participants that better jobs, even desirable careers, could be obtained through the educational route.

If this line of reasoning is correct, then the conclusions follow that:

(1) Young black women who have given up school can be persuaded to return;

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[1] A passage from the Majority Report of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the 91st Congress, as reported in Congressional Digest, 50, March 1971, p. 80.

[2] S. M. Miller, Pamela Roby, and Alwine A. De Vos van Steenwijk, "Creaming the Poor," Transaction, vol. 7, no. 8, June 1970, p. 43.

(2) But a necessary condition for the modification of educational aspirations is the demonstration that desirable job opportunities exist for those who achieve educational credentials.

## Institutional Sponsorship and Supports

This demonstration program showed that a staff unit devoted to developing labor market information and searching out and developing job openings is essential. The activities of such a unit should occur well in advance of program services. If manpower activities are initiated at the outset, growth of the participants can be coordinated with their involvement in the labor market.

Institutional sponsorship is of enormous value in aiding entry into the labor market. The general reputation of the Northside Center enabled staff members of the Careers Project to locate and obtain access to jobs and training opportunities that quite probably would not have otherwise been available to the young people. It is reasonable to conclude, then, that the replication of this kind of project is most likely to succeed if the sponsoring organization enjoys stature in its community.

## Suggestions for Replication

The experience of the Careers Project in selecting, training, and supervising peer aides, in recruiting and keeping participants in the project, and in designing the program should be of value to those wishing to replicate this type of project.

Peer Aides.--It is our conclusion that the ease with which we attracted the participants in the Careers Project and maintained their interest had much to do with the relaxed and open manner with which the peer aides, who were young women very much like the group members themselves, presented and conducted the program. They were warm and accepting of the participants, mirroring their own youth, enthusiasm and enerby.

But youthfulness was not their only asset. These were young black women whose ability to identify with the participants had much to do with the fact they had similar social origins. They set high standards and expectations for the participants. A sense that "If I can do it, you can do it" permeated the behavior and comments of aides in the group sessions. Participants and aides discovered that they talked the same language and shared many of the same concerns about the future. To the extent that the peer aides appeared more sophisticated, this became an attribute which the members admired and soon emulated. We thus achieved the goal of obtaining positive peer role models.

The participants expected expertise from the professional staff. Although the peer aide was the group leader, she was not perceived as overly threatening. Professional staff experienced a great deal more testing and challenging, as if to determine whether they were "with it." The participants never confronted the peer aides in this way.

As the staff members demonstrated their capacity to help the young people obtain jobs, additional manpower resources and information were sought out. The relationships which developed with other staff members and resource people in the manpower area were as open and receptive as those formed with the peer aides. These relationships did not, however, replace or interfere with the friendships developed with the peer aides and with other group members.

It was necessary to carefully screen the peer staff. Peer aides should be able to function in a group setting, to take on leadership roles, and to establish close and consistent relationships. These roles are not simple ones; they require intelligence and considerable maturity. If candidates reflect too many of the unresolved problems of the youth with whom they are to work--conflict with authority, or immature sexual and social relations--they should not be chosen. The peer aide should also have some work experience upon which to draw in assisting the young women.

The part-time status of the peer aides in this project presented some difficulties. Peer aide status was not their first priority. Appropriately, their college work was uppermost in their minds; college attendance was an important preoccupation. This might suggest the desirability of using recent college graduates as well as others in future demonstrations of this kind.

Recruitment of Participants.--The major problem in recruitment had to do with locating young women who were neither employed nor in school. They exist in large numbers, but it is difficult to make contact with them. At the time of our recruitment some programs which had been established to serve them were closing because of lack of funds. Under the best of circumstances, few programs existed to serve women in this age range; and characteristically, they were not known to agencies on a regular basis. In the final analysis, it was through word-of-mouth that the most effective contacts were made.

Also, we found that many who were "going to school" were actually attending few classes. Or they had every intention of returning, and thus registered, only to fail to attend. Many were discouraged because they could not find meaningful employment, and returned to school only to be frustrated again and drop out.

What we are saying is that these young women are not to be found clustered on street corners or at agencies waiting or demanding services. They are hard to locate.

Program.--In this section, we provide a listing of subject areas which were focal points of continuing group discussion, together with a few observations on aspects of the organization and structure of the program.

No set time was allocated to cover any of the subject-matter areas listed below. It was often necessary to return to an area after time had elapsed, or to repeat it in consecutive sessions, as well as to concentrate on several topics at a given time. The rate of movement was determined by the group's particular style and make-up.

I. Work

(1) Work expectations, aspirations and experiences
(2) How to find a job
    (a) Where to look and learn
    (b) How to use resources
(3) Matching oneself to the job requirements
    (a) How to choose a job
    (b) Personal characteristics which pertain to doing the job
    (c) Assessment of marketability
    (d) The skills that are needed

II. Jobs, Careers, and Education

(1) What is a job? What is a career?
(2) Educational prerequisites for jobs and for careers
(3) Criteria for ideal job

III. Personal and Family Concerns

(1) Male-female relationships
(2) Peer support and lack of peer contact
(3) Grooming, poise, and wardrobe
(4) Child care provisions
(5) Motherhood and careers
(6) Contraception and family planning
(7) Family pressures and responsibilities
(8) Finances and budgeting

IV. The Application Process

(1) The application form and procedure
(2) The resume and when to use it
    (a) What it is

        - (b) How to prepare one
        - (c) Practice in preparation

V. The Interview Process

- (1) What it is, how to prepare, what to expect
- (2) What is a personal presentation?
- (3) How to practice
    - (a) Use a tape recorder
    - (b) Use role play for both interviews and interviewer roles

VI. Test Taking and Jobs

- (1) Tests and qualifying for jobs
- (2) Acquiring skills in taking tests
    - (a) How to follow directions
    - (b) Test language and use of key words
    - (c) Strategies for different types of tests

VII. The Current Labor Market

- (1) Employment and unemployment and the meaning and consequences of a tight labor market
- (2) Preparation for the present and future labor markets

Experience indicates that the job-oriented group discussion was helped by a number of planned activities and program aids. Some of the more important are given below.

(1) Industry tours (one per month) were useful in expanding knowledge of work areas.

(2) Field interviews (one assignment per month per participant) made it possible to test out and learn from actual experience, and to bring experiences to the group for discussion. Such interviews were not limited solely to jobs. An assignment might have been to investigate community resources or to find materials for the group--information about financial scholarships, careers, training programs, or educational programs. In planning the newspaper, for example, the young women responsible for the activity talked about the usefulness of interviewing people outside of the program.

Wherever possible, participants were actively involved in planning and carrying out activities; this not only helped them to become personally involved but it was also an exercise in responsibility. In one activity the participants reversed roles with staff.

(3) Group discussions of case studies of hypothetical problems were useful. Characteristic problems had to do with developing job strategies, analyzing work attitudes and behavior, and coping with school, friends, parents, and mates.

(4) The newsletter was a valuable instrument for communication and providing specific information. It stimulated interest and provided an outlet for creativity and the expression of ideas.

(5) Planned leisure-time programs and opportunities, including athletic activities--swimming, volley ball, tennis, track; and frequent exposure and participation in cultural activities--the legitimate theater, motion pictures, recitals, museums and libraries--helped to strengthen group cohesion as well as to expand individual horizons.

(6) Male acquaintances and friends attended some of the sessions and engaged in lively dialogues on issues of mutual interest and concern. These visits worked well especially when the aide was skillful in facilitating communication between the sexes. The peer aides were usually alert to any tendencies of males in these sessions to assume active leadership roles thus forcing the females to recede into passive "female" roles.

(7) Although it was difficult to find up-to-date films concerned with jobs and careers, schooling and education, and family that were appropriate for, or appealing to, the young women, we were successful in locating a few recent 16 mm films about inner city youth which are of value. Among these films, "Better By Choice Than By Chance," gives an honest portrayal of the emotional aspects of sexual relations among adolescents and deals with the characteristics of responsible behavior; a career film directed to youth, "Code Blue," described various jobs in the medical field and the relevance of such careers in the health field to the black community.

It was valuable to tape group interaction and then focus group discussion on the problems being resolved or compounded. And why? Who are the leaders? The facilitators?

Some thought and discussion were given to the possibility of videotaping mock interviews for training purposes and to the development of rating scales to evaluate performances in the simulated work situation. Among other things the costs of videotaping prevented further development and experimentation.

(8) Skills workshops were found to be useful when specific problems in math, science, and English had to be dealt with. In these workshops, it was the group's task to tackle the problem, with staff assistance. In the one science workshop held, a peer aide outlined the menstruation process and its relation to pregnancy, while some of the members defined the words used. The workshop device was also found effective when it was centered on vocabulary building and grammar (e.g., one session was held on the use of adverbs, prepositional phrases, and the double negative, etc.), and on basic as well as advanced math. The workshop used in this way the remedial program, the group process and structure.

(9) Frequent seminars were geared to identifying manpower groupings and to dealing with specific needs of the participants. After seminar themes were developed or topics chosen, resource persons were invited to lead or share in the discussions.

* * *

Remedial programs.--A remedial component had been planned from the outset to complement the activities of the program. Because of the data on poor skills obtained in the pre-testing period, and because of our knowledge of the interrupted educational careers of so many of the participants, remedial assistance was offered from the very first, although on a voluntary basis. All participants were told of the availability of staff assistants for such purposes, however specific individuals were not singled out as being especially in need of aid. Although some participants voiced the need for remedial help, few actually availed themselves of the service until well into the program year.

What seemed to inhibit the use of remedial resources was a hesitancy about acknowledging one's deficits on a one-to-one basis, but participants did freely admit to their educational deficiencies in group sessions where others were doing the same. It is probably the case that the skills workshops which were established midway through the program year had the success they did because of the group dimension.

In the efforts with those participants who did take advantage of tutorial assistance, the primary technique was to go over fundamentals. The greatest deficits were in arithmetic, and so math was stressed. Reading, vocabulary building, and reading comprehension were dealt with indirectly in the various problem materials used during the group sessions.

Those participants assigned to the summer tutorial program received the most extensive and intensive remedial help. They received considerable remediation simply by virtue of being prepared to serve as tutors. The specialist who worked with them reviewed word meaning, context of sentences and paragraphs, discerning the main idea, and dramatic expression. There was no attempt to deal with phonics. Reading materials included child care manuals, true confession magazines, and pocket novels. It had been initially planned to have the participants read a novel as a group, but because of the disparity in reading skills, the plan was abandoned. However, it is now recommended that such a group reading be tried as there are popular novels which cut across reading levels.

The success of the drama club suggests another means of improving reading comprehension. In the drama group, the young women read aloud and adapted scripts; and eventually they wrote and acted out their own scripts. Here again, the peer process was at the core of the remedial process.

The employed participants.--When participants obtained jobs, attendance fell off. Some attempted to remain active by adjusting their day or days off to coincide with the scheduled times of the group meeting, or by joining the group in activities held outside of the regular time schedule (evenings or weekends). Some returned to their groups once they had terminated employment; others did not.

Whether or not an employed member remained attached to her group seemed to depend on the group's development and on its attractiveness to the participant at the point of leaving. If a relationship had been established, the member seemed to want to hold on. If one had not been developed, the participant felt minimally involved.

Child care responsibilities made it difficult for the young women to participate regularly in late evening activities, so that this stretegy was not too effective in dealing with the employed women. In retrospect, it would have been useful to have planned at least one late evening each month or one weekend activity per month in order to facilitate the participation of employed young women. Since they were working, their experiences would have provided valuable information for the participants and staff. More regular and continuing group contact with the employed would have yielded reciprocal benefits; among other things, it would have enabled the group to play a more active role in helping the employed to deal with any frustrations on the job and to sustain employment.

In demonstrating the salience of job opportunities and work experience in the life and world of young black women in the inner city of a major metropolitan center, this program has focused as well on the intricate interplay among age, sex and race. Awareness of these intricate interrelationships was a constant in this program. A staff member alludes to this in summing up her experience of working with the young women.

> It was very important to have a committed black female staff to work with such young women. The ability to relate to and understand these particular young people had a great deal to do with the success of the program. We were able to understand and share the realities of being black and at the same time to stimulate and encourage occupational strivings. A necessary criterion for changing their perceptions of what they can do and what they can be is to see others like themselves who are in the act of achieving goals. All of the aides, administrators and consultants were supportive models; we were honest with them, we presented viable alternatives and helped to restore the hope that they could change their lives. It was like "being with family," as one aide said, and that cannot be measured.

# XI. APPENDIXES

## A. THE GROUP PROCESS: A SOCIOMETRIC ANALYSIS

One facet of our research evaluation entailed conducting a sociometric analysis of the peer groups. A number of findings of some interest resulted from the analysis of the group process.

As noted elsewhere, a variety of sources were utilized to recruit young women into the program. Community agencies, friends, the Northside Center staff, public announcements, public agencies, and community professionals and workers were all solicited for help in locating and then persuading young women to apply for the program. About two of every seven participants were drawn from community organizations and agencies, and about one-fourth were recruited through friends and relatives (see Table 1). This high proportion of persons recruited through friends and relatives, and to a lesser extent social agencies, suggests that those selected for the program were not strangers to each other. Recruitment for this program, as for most other programs, was dependent upon reaching friendship networks of appropriate clientele.

Thus, as Table 2 shows, only 31 percent of the young women in the program were designated as a "close friend" at the start of the program by someone. Correlatively, 25 percent were picked as a close friend by three or more others. Nor were the staff unknown to some of the young women. All of the peer aides were identified as a close friend by at least one of the participants, and one aide was picked as a friend by four members within the project.

In addition to "close friends," young women were also "acquainted" with some of the others (see Table 3). These were young women who had seen each other "around," might have attended the same school or community center, or might have gone to some of the same parties. As Table 3 shows, over half of them were acquainted with each other. In fact, only eight, 16 percent, of those in the project, were not known by any of the others.

Thus, the Careers Project, which was predicated on the assumption that groups of peers could help each other in finding a place in the labor market began with a group of persons who had already developed some minimal relationships with each other.

### The Roots of Group Structure

One manifestation of the initial interpersonal ties among them was the existence of cliques--groups of young women closely related to each other.

## TABLE 1

## Major Sources of Recruitment for the Careers Project

| Source | |
|---|---|
| Community agency or organization | 29% |
| Friend or relative | 23 |
| School | 14 |
| Social worker or other professional | 6 |
| Publication or announcement | 6 |
| Northside Center | 2 |
| No information | 20 |
| Number | 51 |

## TABLE 2

## Number of Choices as a "Close Friend"*

| | |
|---|---|
| None | 31% |
| One | 29 |
| Two | 14 |
| Three | 14 |
| Four | 8 |
| Five | 2 |
| Six | 2 |
| Number | 51 |

---

*Each person was asked the question: "When you first entered this project last July, with whom in the entire project were you close friends at that time?" (italics in original)

Initial cliques.--In this study, cliques are defined as members who are connected to each other through mutual friendship choices. If "Mary" picks "Ann" as a close friend, and "Ann" also picks "Mary," the two are related through a mutual choice. If "Ann" also picks "Rose" as a close friend, and "Rose" reciprocates, then Ann, Rose and Mary form a three-person clique. This chain, or clique, ends when there are no more mutual choices involving the young women.

At the beginning of the program, six such cliques--embracing 19 persons in the Careers Project--were identified. We do not know whether these cliques were whole or partial cliques. That is, we do not know whether all, or only some, of the members of these preexisting cliques were participants in the Careers Project. Since the participants in the Careers Project were randomly selected from a larger pool of applicants, it is likely that these cliques are only partial cliques. The right-hand totals of Table 4, which shows the number in each clique, lend support to this speculation of partial cliques. The number in each clique, except Clique F, is rather small. In fact, half of the cliques consist of only two members.

Group assignment.--The 51 young women recruited into the Careers Project were subdivided into five groups of nine to 11 members each. Each group was led by an older member attending college who was to help the members of her group get to know each other and to facilitate group support for each member's efforts to find and keep a place in the labor market.

To a considerable extent, as Table 4 shows, the preexisting cliques were utilized in assignments to groups. Of the 19 who were members of a clique, only four were placed in a group different from the member(s) of her clique. This tendency to use the initial cliques as at least a partial basis for group assignment is most striking in the case of the largest clique, Clique F. All of the members of this clique were assigned to one group (Group E), and made up over half of the members of that group. In only two instances, cliques C and E, were clique members assigned to different groups.

The assignment of clique members to the same group is a special instance of a more general practice--that of assigning friends to the same group. For example, each of the ten who indicated that they were close friends of a peer aide was assigned to that peer aide's group. The complete data on friendship choices is shown in Table 5. The relationship is highly significant. It is clear that

## TABLE 3

### Number of Choices as an "Acquaintance"*

| | |
|---|---|
| None | 45% |
| One | 27 |
| Two | 24 |
| Three | 0 |
| Four | 4 |
| Number | 51 |

*Each person was asked the question: "Was there anyone else in the project that you know, but who was not a close friend?"

## TABLE 4

### Assignment of Initial Clique Members to Project Groups

| | Group A | Group B | Group C | Group D | Group E | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Clique A | 3 | | | | | 3 |
| Clique B | | 2 | | | | 2 |
| Clique C | | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 4 |
| Clique D | | | | 2 | | 2 |
| Clique E | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Clique F | | | | | 6 | 6 |
| No Clique | 8 | 6 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 32 |
| Totals | 11 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 51 |

the vast majority of friendship choices, 76 percent to be exact, were choices of members in the same group.

There were differences among the groups in the proportion of friendship choices made by its members to other members of the grup. Thus, nearly all of the choices by the members of Group E were to other Group E members, while slightly more than one-third (36%) of the choices of Group C members were to other members of the group. If one compares the percentage of in-group friendship choices to the size of intact cliques incorporated into each group (see Table 4), a close correspondence will be found.

This preexisting basis for group formation and influence that is implied in these data will be an important part of the story of group development that follows.

## Initial Group Formation

The project sought to demonstrate the effectiveness of a peer group mechanism for improving the labor market orientations, employment opportunities, and work behavior of the young women in the program. As noted in a progress report: "Each group was scheduled to meet a minimum of two hours each week with a peer aide. Activities beyond the formal group sessions were planned and carried out; they included job search interviews, field trips and cultural activities. With the support of staff members, the study groups engaged in a variety of group projects, such as developing and putting out a newspaper and the planning of 'mini' conferences." Thus, the peer groups were intended to be the core of the project.

In order to fulfill the goals described above, the groups had to be structured and operate in a way which would: (1) cater to the emotional needs of the members; (2) provide information about the skills and knowledge required, demands made by, and opportunities present in the labor market; (3) effectively teach and motivate the young women towards developing a career; (4) enable the groups to plan for and attend to the variety of tasks which confronted them during each session. These functions, to borrow terminology from Bales,[1] can be identifed as expressive, adaptive, integrative and instrumental functions which confront any problem-solving group.

Since these are four functions which must be fulfilled by any group, it is useful to translate these functions into roles

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[1] Robert F. Bales, Interaction Process Analysis. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Press, Inc., 1950.

## TABLE 5

### Number of Friendship Choices Within and Between Groups at Beginning of the Program

| | Group A | Group B | Group C | Group D | Group E | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Group A | 17 | | 2 | 1 | | 20 |
| Group B | | 7 | 3 | 2 | | 12 |
| Group C | | 1 | 5 | 1 | | 7 |
| Group D | | 3 | 3 | 10 | 1 | 17 |
| Group E | 2 | | 1 | 1 | 27 | 31 |
| Total Choices | 19 | 11 | 14 | 15 | 28 | 87 |

Chi Square = 144.39   df = 6   P < .001

which are performed by one or more members of the group. Brief theoretical and operational definitions of these roles, as used in this study, follow.

*Adaptive roles*.--The adaptive role is concerned with adjusting the group to the general context within which it must operate as it strives to attain its purposes. For the peer groups in the Careers Project, this means supplying the group members with information about the demands of the labor market, the kinds of knowledge and skills that a potential employee has to manifest, and the behaviors that one must exhibit if a successful career is to be realized.

Different sets of sociometric questions were used to determine who, if anyone, fulfilled this role for each of the five groups. At the beginning of the program, two questions which seem to measure this dimension were asked:

> When your group started in October, which three members of your group did you most enjoy talking to?
>
> In those early days, which three members of your group did you like to *hear* rap?

At the end of the program, the questions which were used to tap the adaptive dimension were:

> If you want some advice about jobs, which three persons in your group are you most likely to ask?
>
> If you want some advice about school, which three persons in your group are you most likely to ask?

The difference in the content of the two pairs of questions at the two points in time reflects differences in the general situation of the groups at the beginning and end of the project. At the beginning of the project, the specialized focus of the groups upon work, school and the labor market was much less apparent. In addition to observations of the groups, this contention is also borne out by the fact that, when asked, very few of the young women indicated that they talked or "rapped" about jobs or school. Thus, adaptive roles of the groups were manifested by communication of more generalized information. By the end of the program, however, the specific focus of the groups upon careers had emerged, and the adaptive role could be tapped by questions focused at the interrelated content areas of school and jobs.

For both sets of questions, the number of choices each person received on each of the pairs of questions were added together, and persons who received seven or more choices were identified as fulfilling the adaptive role for her peer group. Seven choices is one standard deviation above the mean number of choices given on this item. The number of group members fulfilling the adaptive role at the beginning ($T_1$) and the end ($T_2$) of the program is shown in Table 6.

Instrumental roles.--As described by Bales, the instrumental role within the group is analogous to that of the "executive." Instrumental activities involve organizing and managing the agenda of the group in order to enable the group to realize its purposes.

At the beginning of the program, this role was clearly assigned, by the nature of the program and the coming together of the groups, to the peer aide. As a staff member, she was looked to by the members in her group as the person who "knew what they were supposed to do" during their two-hour weekly sessions. Accordingly, no questions to tap this role were asked at the beginning of the program.

At the end of the program it was no longer perfectly clear that the instrumental functions of the group were exclusively carried out by the peer aide. Accordingly, two questions intended to determine who fulfilled this role were asked:

> Which three persons in your group have been most likely to decide the activities of the group?
>
> Which three persons in your group have had the most influence on the kinds of things the group decided to talk about?

As with the questions pertaining to the adaptive role, the number of choices each group member received on these two questions were added together, and those members who received eight or more choices were identified as fulfilling the instrumental role. The number of group members so identified is shown in Table 6.

Expressive roles.--Persons fulfilling the expressive role have been identified in other studies as social-emotional leaders, cohesive figures, or the best liked person in the group. Apparently, the collective efforts of group members to attain group goals produce stresses and strains which threaten to tear the group apart. Since a group must remain together in order to accomplish its tasks, the person occupying the expressive role must see to it that group tensions are kept within tolerable limits, and that each member feels a part of the group.

In this study, the number of choices a person received as a "close friend" was used to determine occupancy of the expressive role. If the number of "close friend" choices a person received from members of her group exceeded by one standard deviation the mean number of close friend choices for the groups combined, she was identified as fulfilling the expressive role. At the beginning of the program a young women had to receive three or more such choices in order to be so identified; at the end of the program the number was four.

The number of group members fulfilling the expressive role at both time points is shown in Table 6.

Integrative role.--This role also centers in the social-emotional area, and is concerned with managing some of the tensions that emerge in the course of group interaction. It is a role which conveys to them how they ought to act--what they ought to be like--in order to best enable the group to realize its objectives and to stick together. In short, a person fulfilling the integrative role is a role model for the others. She symbolized in her presence and behavior what all group members should be like.

In this study, four questions which tap this dimension were asked. First, they were asked:

> When your group started in October, which three persons, not including yourself, did you most want to be like?

and

> Which three members of your group did you admire most at that time?

Later in the questionnaire they were asked:

> Which three persons in your group, not including yourself, would you most want to be like now?

and

> Which three persons in your group do you now admire most?

As with the other sociometric items used to measure group roles, a member was identified as fulfilling an integrative role if the number of combined choices she received exceeded by one standard deviation the mean number of choices (viz., six or more choices). Table 6 shows the number of young women at the beginning ($T_1$) and the end ($T_2$) of the program who occupied an integrative role in their group.

Group structure.--Table 6 implies many differences among the peer groups in the way in which the four roles were fulfilled. It also implies some changes between the beginning and end of the program in the way in which a given group filled these roles. The ways in which these roles were filled, if they were, is a fruitful way of examining group structure, and will be employed throughout the rest of this discussion.

There are many permutations and combinations that can be used to manage the adaptive, instrumental, expressive and integrative functions of a group. Some general points of reference will be identified here, and we shall then use these reference points to describe the initial structure of the five peer groups of the Careers Project.

First, a group can be examined to see whether a given role is, in fact, differentiated. Instead of assigning the responsibility for managing a given function to one or more members, a group can collectively try to manage that function. This pattern of non-differentiation of a role is reflected in the zeros in Table 6. It is interesting to note, in Table 6, that with the marked exception of the expressive role, differentiation generally occurs at both points in time.

Second, a distinction can be made between assigning a function exclusively to one group member, or to more than one. In the case of multiple assignments, one might anticipate some strains among the members who are assigned the same function, and confusion within the group over the management of that function. On the other hand, a member assigned exclusive responsibility for a function may feel overwhelmed by it all. Thus, one method of resolution is not automatically superior to the other. It can be noted in Table 6 that the integrative role is typically assigned to one group member, while the adaptive and instrumental roles are assigned to multiple members.

Third, note can be taken of whether a group member is identified as fulfilling more than one role at the same time, and which combinations are so assigned. At the extremes, one could have a "strong leader" group in which all four roles are fulfilled by the same person. At the other extreme one may have a "specialized structure" in which each of the four roles is occupied by a different group member.

With these reference points in mind, we now turn to how the roles within the peer groups were initially filled. Special attention will be paid to the peer aide's initial place and function within her group.

## Initial Assumption of Roles

Thirteen group members, including three peer aides were selected as fulfilling one or more roles. The combination of roles filled by the members of each group is shown in Table 7. Since the instrumental role was initially fulfilled exclusively by the peer aide in each group, it will be ignored in this description of the beginning structure of the groups.

Table 7 shows that the integrative role most frequently appears together with the adaptive role. But most interesting, of the four group members who occupied the integrative role, three are peer aides. Of the five peer aides, only one was selected as filling the expressive role. This peer aide, it should be noted, was also the one who was identified at the beginning of the program as a close friend by four of the members of her group. In general, then, groups began by assigning integrative functions to their peer aides. That is, the peer aide was identified as someone to be liked, to emulate. In addition, two of the groups also assigned an adaptive function to the peer aide, someone to talk and listen to about the circumstances that faced the group

## TABLE 6

Number of Group Members Fulfilling Each Group Role at the Beginning ($T_1$) and the End ($T_2$) of the Program

| | Instrumental | | Adaptive | | Expressive | | Integrative | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $T_1$ | $T_2$ | $T_1$ | $T_2$ | $T_1$ | $T_2$ | $T_1$ | $T_2$ |
| Group A | 1 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 7 | 4 | 3 |
| Group B | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Group C | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Group D | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Group E | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Totals | 5 | 9 | 9 | 12 | 9 | 11 | 7 | 7 |

members as members of the group. In one group, where the peer aide was a close friend of several members, the aide was assigned an expressive role instead of the adaptive one.

Thus, in three of the five groups the peer aide initially fulfilled two roles in addition to the instrumental role that was automatically hers. In the other two groups, the peer aide began with only her automatically conferred instrumental role.

Of the ten persons (not peer aides) who fulfilled any role, six occupied more than one role. In half of these instances, a person occupied all three. It may be of crucial importance to note that all three of these instances of what we might call "role blanketing" occurred in Group A. Of the paired combinations of roles, the adaptive-expressive combination was held by two--again, members from the same group (Group E); and one held the adaptive-integrative combination. None simultaneously occupied the integrative and expressive roles. Of the four who held only one role, three held the expressive role, and one the adaptive.

Much of the foregoing can be summarized by stating that at the beginning of the program, roles usually appeared in combinations. The integrative role always appeared in combination with at least one other role. The expressive role, on the other hand, was most likely to appear in isolation (three out of nine times).

So far, attention has been focused upon the columns of Table 7. It is also instructive to examine the rows of this table, for the rows reveal whether all roles were differentiated in each group, and how.

---

TABLE 7

Role Combinations of Peer Groups at Start of Program

| Role Combination* | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ins. | Adp. | Exp. | Int. | Group A | Group B | Group C | Group D | Group E | Totals |
| Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | 0 |
| Y | Y | Y | N | | | | | | 0 |
| Y | Y | N | Y | 1# | | | 1# | | 2 |
| Y | Y | N | N | | | | | | 0 |
| Y | N | Y | Y | | | | | 1# | 1 |
| Y | N | Y | N | | | | | | 0 |
| Y | N | N | Y | | | | | | 0 |
| Y | N | N | N | | 1# | 1# | | | 2 |
| N | Y | Y | Y | 3 | | | | | 3 |
| N | Y | Y | N | | | | | 2 | 2 |
| N | Y | N | Y | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| N | Y | N | N | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| N | N | Y | Y | | | | | | 0 |
| N | N | Y | N | 1 | | | | 2 | 3 |
| N | N | N | Y | | | | | | 0 |
| N | N | N | N | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 7 | 41 |

*The symbols used to identify the various role combinations are:

Ins. = Instrumental Role
Adp. = Adaptive Role
Exp. = Expressive Role
Int. = Integrative Role
Y = the given role was occupied
N = the given role was not occupied

Thus, the row which reads "NYNY" (eleventh row) refers to the number of persons in each group who occupied both the Adaptive and Integrative Roles, but not the Instrumental and Expressive ones.

#This symbol is used to indicate the role combination of the peer aide of the group.

First, in one group, Group C, none of the roles were differentiated. No one, peer aide included, occupied any of the three roles. This is in contrast to Groups A and E where all three roles are differentiated, albeit in different ways. The two remaining groups (B and D) differentiate the adaptive and integrative roles, but not the expressive role. In both Groups B and D the adaptive and integrative roles are assigned to one group members. In Group D it is the peer aide, in Group B it is one of the members. Group B also assigned an adaptive function only to a second member.

As has been noted, Groups A and E differentiate all three roles. Group A, however, does this by assigning all three roles to three different persons. It also assigns just the expressive role to a fourth. Group E, in contrast, spreads the roles among several members and the peer aide. Two have expressive only roles, two others add an adaptive role to the expressive one, and the peer aide, as noted before, holds the adaptive and expressive roles.

The differences in the initial structures of the five peer groups may be summarized in the following way:

> Group C did not differentiate any roles at all, except for the instrumental role conferred upon the peer aide by the program.
>
> Group D began with a simple structure in which all roles except the expressive role, were vested in the peer aide. No one held an expressive role in this group at the beginning.
>
> Group B began by assigning roles to the members of the group, rather than the peer aide. Two persons were assigned roles. Both fulfilled adaptive functions, and in addition, one fulfilled integrative functions. No one in the group occupied an expressive role.
>
> Group E used the expressive role as a base. All five members who occupied roles, occupied at least this role. In addition, two were assigned the adaptive role; while the peer aide was assigned the expressive role.
>
> Finally, Group A utilized "role blanket" to fulfill the roles. Three members occupied all three roles. The peer aide fulfilled the adaptive and integrative roles; while a fourth member occupied an expressive role only.

## Cliques, Friendships and Roles

Group structure and the kinds of roles members occupy emerge out of the initial impressions that each one makes upon the others. The kind of knowledge, competence and personality a member displays towards her group defines for them what roles, if any, she ought to fulfill. It can be expected that pre-existing friendships and clique membership will color these initial impressions, since some persons will have more knowledge about the strengths and weaknesses of some members than of others. An immediate question that arises, therefore, is whether there is a relationship between clique membership and friendship on the one hand, and assignment to a role on the other.

The answer to this query is an unequivocal "yes." All but one of the young women who were designated as occupying one or more roles belonged to a clique. That one person was one of the members of Group A who occupied all three roles. In addition, however, those clique members who were assigned to different peer groups (see Table 7) took on no roles in the groups to which they were assigned, while Groups A, B and E were precisely the ones in which the members of the cliques were assigned roles.

It is thus possible to account for why group members, other than the peer aide, initially were assigned roles. When a clique is initially present in a group, the members of that clique take on one or more of the roles of that group. The assumption of a role is facilitated by other group members knowledge of the skills and capabilities of that member. When group members are largely strangers to each other, the requisite knowledge is not available, and roles are not differentiated.

> Summary.--Initial group structure is reflective of a structure (perhaps partial structure) brought into the project by the young women themselves through the cliques to whicn they belonged. Group C, which contained members who were largely unknown to each other, had no initial structure other than the conferring of an instrumental role upon the peer aide. Group D was similar to Group C in that none were assigned any of the roles. But the peer aide was assigned the adaptive and integrative roles. Thus, Group D started out as a "strong leader" type of group with the peer aide in the leadership position. Group E, which apparently was built around a pre-existing clique of six participants had the clearest structure in that all roles were filled at the start, but no one took on all four roles within the group. The remaining groups exhibited some beginning form of structure, with Group A more structured than Group B. The latter group assigned no additional roles upon the peer aide, but did designate members for

adaptive and integrative roles. The former group basically combined the three roles and assigned the total package to three different young women.

## Attendance

It goes without saying that a member must attend the sessions of her group with some regularity in order to be influenced by it. Attendance records were kept by the peer aides, and these show considerable variation in attendance for both individuals and the groups as a whole. One person attended all 42 sessions it was possible for her to attend, while two others attended only two (5%) of the 37 sessions it was possible for them to attend. The median percentage of sessions attended was 51.3 percent.

Attendance data for the five groups are shown in Table 8. Group D had the highest attendance rate (62.2%), followed fairly closely by Groups A and E. Group C had the lowest attendance rate. With the exception of Group C, however, the differences among the groups in attendance is not statistically significant (for Group C vs. all other groups combined:

$$X^2 = 5.15, \ df = 1, \quad .05 > p > .02).$$

It may be recalled that the groups with the highest attendance rates are also the ones with more in-group friendship choices (cf., Tables 5 and 8). This leads to the speculation that the more friends a person had in the Project the more likely she was to come regularly. This in fact is the case. The product moment correlation between percentage of group sessions attended and the number of initial friendship choices a member received is +.50, which is statistically significant above the .001 level.

Correlatively, whether a member belonged to a clique or not was highly related to attendance. The data are presented Table 9. Of the 19 who belonged to a clique, only four attended less than half of their group's sessions, whereas 21 of the 32 who did not belong to a clique attended less than half of their group's sessions. This difference is statistically significant above the .01 level. An immediate thought is that the four clique members who attended less than half of their group's sessions are the four who were assigned to a group different than the one to which their clique mate(s) were assigned. But, this does not turn out to be the case. Only one of the four, a member of clique C, was separated from her friends.

Apparently, interpersonal ties of friendship induce young women to come and participate in the program. It also seems that it makes little difference whether those friends are part of a person's peer group or not, as long as friends are participating in the program.

## TABLE 8

## Attendance of the Women in Each Group

| | Percentage of Group Sessions Attended | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 00-25% | 26-50% | 51-75% | 76-100% | Mean Group Attendance |
| Group A | 2 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 58.1% |
| Group B | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 47.8 |
| Group C | 6 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 23.7 |
| Group D | 1 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 62.2 |
| Group E | 1 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 53.6 |
| All Groups | 13 | 12 | 16 | 10 | 49.8 |

Chi Squares (dichotomized at median)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Group A vs. all others | Chi Square = 0.37 | df = 1 | .70 > P > .50 |
| Group B " " | " " = 0.08 | " = 1 | .80 > P > .70 |
| Group C " " | " " = 5.15 | " = 1 | .05 < P > .20 |
| Group D " " | " " = 0.08 | " = 1 | .80 > P > .70 |
| Group E " " | " " = 0.37 | " = 1 | .70 > P > .50 |

### Changes in Group Structure

The previous section has shown that the Careers Project began with a group of young women who were not complete strangers to each other. This in turn meant that the project began with a nascent group structure, expecially since preexisting friendships were partially used to assign participants to the five peer groups. As the members, both strangers and friends interacted with each other during the life of the program, it can be expected that the beginning group structures would undergo changes. We now turn to the kinds of changes that the groups exhibited. We shall begin by noting the cohesion these groups developed, and then turn to changes in the number and composition of cliques, and then turn to changes in roles.

TABLE 9

Attendance of Clique and Non-Clique Members

| | Attended 0-50% of the Sessions | Attended 50-100% of the Sessions | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|
| Clique Members | 4 | 15 | 19 |
| Non-Clique Members | 21 | 11 | 32 |
| Totals | 25 | 26 | 51 |

Chi Square = 7.78 df = 1 .01 > P > .001

Cohesion.--A basic minimum for group activity and influence is some cohesion among the members. Observations of the groups leave no doubt that cohesion did exist. Members often expressed concern about others who had been absent. Some groups even tried to keep members who were missing sessions informed about what had happened and what they had learned.

Attendance is one measure of cohesion, for if the members did not feel drawn to each other they would not bother to participate. In this study cohesion will be measured by a Likert scale of three items drawn from the peer aides questionnaire. First, each peer aide was asked which statement most accurately described attendance at her group's meetings. The statements were:

- All the members (or nearly all) attended most meetings.
- A majority came to most of the meetings; a few others came only now and then or rarely.
- Almost no one attended all (or nearly all) meetings; the majority did come to at least a few sessions.

- Attendance was a serious problem. A few came now and then to meetings, but most hardly ever attended any meetings.

These statements were scored 4, 3, 2 and 1, respectively. The peer aides were then asked which of the following statements most accurately described the way members behaved towards each other at group meetings:

- When together, all or most girls in the group really seemed to like and try to help each other. Most usually took strong interest in whatever the group was doing or talking about. Generally there was a lot of what I would call "group feeling." (italics in original)

- When together, the girls usually seemed to like each other well enough. But some of them "messed around" too often, didn't pay enough attention to what others were trying to do or talk about. I guess we had "a group" more often than not, but I wasn't always sure. (italics in original).

- When together, the girls usually paid more attention to the peer aide than to each other.

- Some of the girls argued with each other a lot in group sessions. That tended to set the tone at times; even though other girls tried for a more cooperative feeling.

- About the only thing the girls seemed to do in lots of sessions was quarrel and bicker.

These statements were scored 5, 4, 3, 2 and 1, respectively. Finally, each peer aide was asked which statement most accurately described the extent of the members' friendships with each other outside the group's sessions. The statements were:

- Nearly all of the girls in the group did see each other outside the group's sessions, as far as I know.

- Some or a few girls did see each other outside group meetings, but many others did not see each other outside.

- Almost no girls in the group saw each other outside of group sessions.

These statements were scored 3, 2 and 1, respectively.

Cohesion was measured by adding together the scores for each group. The maximum score that could be obtained was 12, the minimum score was 3. The actual cohesion scores of the five groups are as follows:

|  | Q.1 | Q.2 | Q.3 | Cohesion Score |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Group A | 3 | 5 | 2 | 10 |
| Group B | 3 | 4 | 2 | 9 |
| Group C | 1 | 5 | 2 | 8 |
| Group D | 3 | 4 | 2 | 9 |
| Group E | 3 | 5 | 3 | 11 |

All five groups are at least modestly high, according to this measure. Group E is the most cohesive, Group A is next, and Group C is least. Groups B and D have about the same degree of cohesion, and it is between that of Groups A and C. There is a very close correspondence between cohesion and the number of intact cliques with which each peer group began (cf., Table 4), and the percentage of initial within group friendship choices (cf., Table 5).

Cohesion of these groups, then, appears to have grown out of the friendship and cliques ties upon which the groups were based. What changes, if any occurred in these initial cliques?

Changes in the cliques.--During the course of the program, the original seven cliques became consolidated into four. The way in which these changes came about is shown in Table 10. First of all, the number of persons within cliques increased from 19 to 24. This change was the result of four original members of cliques (two each in cliques D and F) dropping out of their respective cliques; and nine who were not originally part of cliques joining them.

The four cliques at the end of the program, which have been labeled B, F, G and H, contain 3, 4, 15 and 2 members, respectively. Two of these cliques (B and F) are essentially the same cliques that began the program, hence they are labeled the same way. Clique B has added a member, while C has lost two.

The other two cliques, G and H, are new cliques. The latter contains only two persons, one who formerly belonged to Clique C, and one who originally did not belong to any clique. Clique G, the largest clique with fifteen members, is essentially a consolidation of Cliques A, C and E, with seven new members added.

TABLE 10

Turnover of Cliques During Program

| Final Cliques | A | B | C | D | E | F | None | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| B |  | 2 |  |  |  |  | 1 | 3 |
| F |  |  |  |  |  | 4 |  | 4 |
| G | 3 |  | 3 |  | 2 |  | 7 | 15 |
| H |  |  | 1 |  |  |  | 1 | 2 |
| None |  |  |  | 2 |  | 2 | 23 | 27 |
| Totals | 3 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 6 | 32 | 51 |

Table 11 shows that with the exception of Clique G, all of the cliques consist of members from the same peer group. Although nearly half of the members of Clique G are from Group A, Clique G contains at least one member from each of the other peer groups. Because of its size, and inter-peer group composition, Clique G can be thought of as the core members of the Careers Project. This speculation is given a great deal of support by the fact that with one exception, Group E, the members of Clique G were identified by the peer aide as the leaders of their respective peer groups. In Group E, the peer aide identified a member of Clique F, the dominant clique of the group, as the leader.

Just as original clique membership is related to attendance, so is final clique membership. The data, which are presented in Table 12, are highly significant. Only five of the 26 members who attended more than half of their group sessions did not belong to a clique; (it is of interest to note that four of them were

## TABLE 11

## Final Cliques of Peer Group Members

| | Group A | Group B | Group C | Group D | Group E | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Clique B | | 3 | | | | 3 |
| Clique F | | | | | 4 | 4 |
| Clique G | 7 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 15 |
| Clique H | | | | 2 | | 2 |
| No Clique | 4 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 4 | 27 |
| Totals | 11 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 51 |

## TABLE 12

## Relationship Between Attendance and Final Clique Membership

| | Attended 0-50% of the Sessions | Attended 50-100% of the Sessions | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|
| Clique Members | 3 | 21 | 24 |
| Non-Clique Members | 22 | 5 | 27 |
| Totals | 25 | 26 | 51 |

Chi Square = 21.51 df = 1 $P < .001$

members of Group D) and only three of the 25 who attended fewer than half of their group's sessions were clique members. Apparently, there is a mutually reinforcing process at work. Those who initially belonged to cliques were more likely to attend the program. This consolidated their position within the clique and the program. They in turn joined with other high attenders to form new cliques. Those who were originally members of cliques, but who could not, for some reason, regularly attend the program lost their clique membership to those who did attend. This process is sharply revealed in Table 13 which shows the attendance of persons who retained, gained, lost, and never had clique membership. The percentage in each of these categories declines from a high of 93 percent for those who began and remained clique members to a low of 17 percent for those who never belonged to a clique within the project. Notice that there is a sharp break in the percentage of high attenders between those who gained clique membership and those who lost it (78% to 25%). The results of Table 13 are highly significant statistically.

TABLE 13

Relationship Between Attendance and Change in Clique Membership

| | Clique Membership | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Retained | Gained | Lost | Never Had |
| Percent Attending 51% or more Sessions | 93 | 78 | 25 | 17 |
| Number | (15) | ( 9) | ( 4) | (23) |

Chi Square = 24.79 df = 3 P < .001

Since attendance is highly related to clique membership, we might expect it to also be related to number of friendship choices received at the end of the program. This is indeed the case. The product -moment correlation between number of friendship choices received and attendance is +.60 (statistically significant at P < .001).

The original seven cliques within the project, then, underwent a consolidation. This consolidation reduced the number of cliques to four. But, more important, it produced a large clique of fifteen members which spanned the five peer groups of the project, and presumably embraced the core members of the project. Although many of the girls who were original clique members were also final clique members, the cliques,

**especially the all-embracing cliques, did add significant numbers of new members.**

**The key element in this reshifting and consolidation of cliques appears to be attendance at the program. Nearly all of the high attenders were, or became, members of a clique; while nearly all of the low attenders never gained, or lost their clique membership. Interpersonal ties, it seems, both fostered participation in the program, and were a resultant of it.**

Changes in role structure.--Table 6 (columns $T_2$) shows the number of group members who occupied roles in each of the peer groups at the end of the program. It appears that the role structure of most of the groups has undergone some change but not a large amount. Let us begin our examination of changes in roles by seeing that combinations of roles were present in each group at the end of the program. The data are presented in Table 14. Of 15 possible combinations of the four roles (instrumental, adaptive, expressive, and integrative), eight were actually present at the end of the program.[1]

By the end of the program, all five peer aides occupied at least one role in their respective groups. Three of the peer aides had come to occupy all four roles (the peer aides of Groups A, D and E), while the remaining two peer aides had taken on an adaptive role only. It is significant, perhaps, that the two peer aides who did not occupy all four roles, originally occupied only the automatically conferred instrumental role in their group. Those peer aides who began with a role in addition to the instrumental role added roles. In two instances (Groups A and D) the added role was an expressive one; while in the third instance (Group E), the added role was an adaptive one.

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[1] The symbols used to identify the various role combinations are: Ins. = instrumental role; Adp. = adaptive role; Exp. = expressive role; Int. = integrative role. Y = the given role was occupied, while N = the given role was not occupied. Thus the row which reads NYNY (5th row) refers to the number of persons in each group who occupied both the adaptive and integrative roles, but not the instrumental and expressive ones. # indicates the role combination of the peer aide of the group. These eight role combinations covered 21 group members, including all five peer aides. Thus, the number of group members occupying one or more roles increased from 13 to 21 during the project.

Although our conclusion is highly speculative, it appears that the key function of the peer aides is that of relating their group to its surrounding environment. They are the ones to whom group members turned for advice and information about schools and jobs. This function is, apparently, even more important than the executive role of managing their groups. It may well be that because of their age, which reflects greater life experiences, and their success in gaining entry to college, they are the ones to whom teenage young women naturally turn when confronted with problems and/or ignorance about the adult world.

One of the important facts revealed by Table 14 is that the peer aides did not all take on the same combinations of roles; nor were the role combinations of peer aides unique. In groups C, D and E the peer aide was the only group member manifesting a particular role combination. But none of the five peer aides had a role combination that at least one other person in the project did not have.

Among the 16 participants who occupied roles at the end of the program, half had also occupied roles at the beginning of the program. Table 15 shows the changes in role combinations between the beginning and the end of the project. Two members who had had roles at the beginning of the project had lost them by the end. Both of them occupied only expressive roles at the beginning of the program. At the same time, eight gained roles. Four of these were expressive roles only, two were members who gained only instrumental roles. And the remaining two each gained an adaptive and integrative role. Thus, loss and gain of roles involved only one role. The role gained or lost was usually the expressive role, but each of the other three roles was also involved.

Among the eight persons who occupied one or more roles at the start of the program, none maintained the same role combination. Four gained a role and four lost a role. None either gained or lost more than one role. Three gained instrumental roles, while the other exchanged an expressive role for an adaptive-integrative combination. Two who lost roles lost an integrative role; one lost an adaptive role; and one exchanged an adaptive-expressive role combination for an instrumental role.

It would appear, then, that the initial group structure, which emerged from the cliques within each peer group, underwent considerable change. But, the change mainly involved those who initially held positions in the group structure. In some instances, these members added a role; in other instances they lost a role. At the same time, some who were not members of cliques were taking on roles with respect to the group. In general, roles were added, especially adaptive and instrumental roles (cf., Table 6).

TABLE 14

Role Combinations of Peer Groups at End of the Program

| Role Combination* Ins. | Adp. | Exc. | Int. | Group A | Group B | Group C | Group D | Group E | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Y | Y | Y | Y | 3# | | | 1# | 1# | 5 |
| Y | Y | Y | N | | | | | | 0 |
| Y | Y | N | Y | | | | | | 0 |
| Y | Y | N | N | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| Y | N | Y | Y | | | | | | 0 |
| Y | N | Y | N | | | | | | 0 |
| Y | N | N | Y | | | | | | 0 |
| Y | N | N | N | | 1 | | | 2 | 3 |
| N | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | 0 |
| N | Y | Y | N | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| N | Y | N | Y | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| N | Y | N | N | | 2# | 1# | 1 | | 4 |
| N | N | Y | Y | | | | | | 0 |
| N | N | Y | N | 3 | | | 1 | 1 | 5 |
| N | N | N | Y | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| N | N | N | N | 5 | 6 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 35 |

* # For the symbols used in this table, see Table 7.

Since attendance has been shown to have a great effect on who gained and lost membership in cliques, it is reasonable to presume that attendance also affects gain and loss of roles. Table 16 shows that with one exception, this is the case. The two who lost their initial roles were both high attenders. When the attendance of those who held one or more roles at the end of the program is compared to those who did not, the differences (94% vs. 31% high attender) is statistically significant at less than the .001 level $X^2 = 14.66$, df = 1). This difference in the attendance of those who held roles compared to those who did not holds for all four roles as Table 17 shows. In each instance, the mean attendance rate of those who occupied given roles is considerably higher than the rate for those who did not occupy that role. The difference is greatest for the adaptive role (35 points), and least for the expressive role (23 points).

Put very simply, a member had to participate in the program in order to gain and maintain a group role.

TABLE 15

Changes in Role Combinations
(Peer Aides excluded)

| Role Combination at End of the Program* | | | | Role Combinations at Beginning of the Program | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ins. | Adp. | Exp. | Int. | NYYY | NYYN | NYNY | NYNN | NNYY | NNYN | NNNN |
| Y | Y | Y | Y | 2 | | | | | | |
| Y | Y | Y | N | | | | | | | |
| Y | Y | N | Y | | | | | | | |
| Y | Y | N | N | | | | 1 | | | |
| Y | N | Y | Y | | | | | | | |
| Y | N | Y | N | | | | | | | |
| Y | N | N | Y | | | | | | | |
| Y | N | N | N | | 1 | | | | | 2 |
| N | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | |
| N | Y | N | Y | | | | | | 1 | |
| N | Y | N | N | | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| N | N | Y | Y | | | | | | | |
| N | N | Y | N | | 1 | | | | | 4 |
| N | N | N | Y | | | | | | | 1 |
| N | N | N | N | | | | | | 2 | 33 |

* For the symbols used in this table, see Table 7.

## Group Structure at End of the Program

The structure of each gruop at the end of the program is shown in Table 14. The first columns under each of the groups shows the role combination of the peer aide for that group. In three of the groups the peer aide occupied all four roles, but in Groups B and C, the peer aide occupied only the adaptive role. Thus, the adaptive role was always occupied by the peer aide.

But, except for Group C, this role was also occupied by another member of the group.

Group D is the next least developed group. Of the ten in the group, only two occupied any roles in the group. One held an adaptive role, the other an expressive role. Basically, Group B assigned all of its functions to the peer aide who fulfilled all four roles.

Group B has a modest, but fairly well-defined structure. Of the four members who occupied roles, three held single, and different, roles (viz., instrumental, adaptive and integrative). Four held two roles, instrumental and adaptive; but no one occupied the expressive role. Group B seems to have structured itself for its task of dealing with the labor market, but to have largely ignored the social-emotional dimension of group interaction.

TABLE 16

Attendance by Gain and Loss of Group Roles

| | Occupancy of a Group Role | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Retained | Gained | Lost | Never Had |
| Percent Attending 51% or More Sessions | 100 | 88 | 100 | 27 |
| Totals | (8) | (8) | (2) | (33) |

Group E has assigned all four roles to the peer aide. But it also seems to have provided at least one "assistant" to the peer aide for each role. One member occupies the adaptive and integrative roles; one occupies the expressive role; and two occupy the instrumental role. There is something neat and orderly about this structure that suggests a smoothly operating unit.

Group A has over half of its membership (six) occupy one or more roles. In addition, the peer aide occupies all four roles. All of the six who occupy roles, occupy at least the expressive role. Three occupy only this role. Two occupy all four roles, and one occupies the adaptive and expressive roles. This group strikes one as "administratively top-heavy." There is no single function that is fulfilled by one group member exclusively. Group A should exhibit confusion and competition in attempting to manage its affairs and relate the group to the worlds of work and education.

Each of the five groups wound up with different structures ranging from no structure at all (Group C) to what may be an over-structure (Group A). The structures of the groups grew out of preexisting cliques among the young women who were selected for the program. Overall, the changes in the structure reflected a consolidation and enlarging of the original small cliques, and a differentiation of roles within each of the peer groups. We now turn to the question: Did the roles that members occupied and the structures of the groups have any effect upon changes in attitudes towards the labor market?

TABLE 17

Attendance Rates of Holders and Non-Holders of Each Group Role

| | Role Held | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Instrumental | | Adaptive | | Expressive | | Integrative | |
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| Attendance Rate | 80% | 45% | 77% | 47% | 69% | 46% | 75% | 46% |
| Totals | (7) | (44) | (5) | (46) | (8) | (43) | (6) | (45) |

## Attitude Change

A major goal of the project was to alter members' attitudes towards the labor market in a more positive direction. It was hypothesized that peer groups could be particularly effective in molding attitudes towards employment. To what extent was this the case in this project?

Measure of attitude change.--Six items reflecting attitudes towards work were selected. These items had been asked when the young women first entered the program in October, and were asked again at the close of the program. These items are:

1. Blacks are better off today than they were five years ago.

2. There is no use in training blacks for better jobs because most white employers would not hire them anyway.
3. I am able to do more skilled work than I have had a chance to do.
4. Blacks who do the same work as whites usually get paid less than whites.
5. Even if I could do more skilled work than I do now, I would not get a chance to do it.
6. In this country most people do not want to see blacks move up to better jobs.

The six items essentially form a pessimism-optimism dimension about the chances of finding a good spot in the labor market. Although an index could have been constructed out of these six items, we shall treat each item separately.

Initial and final attitudes. Table 19 shows the percentage of members in each of the five groups who gave very positive responses to each of the six items at the beginning and end of the program. To "disagree" with all items except the first was to give a positive response. The data in these tables, and all of those dealing with attitude change are limited to those who completed an attitude questionnaire at both the beginning and the end of the program. Thus we shall be dealing with the responses of 47 of the 51 participants. Eight of these are in Group A, ten in Group B, eight in Group C, ten in Group D, and eleven in Group E.

The table shows considerable variation from item to item and from group to group in the percentage of very positive responses both at the beginning and the end. For example, at the beginning of the program 73 percent of the participants in Group E were agreed very much that "Blacks are better off today than they were five years ago" (item #1), but only 37 percent of those in Group A felt this way. With respect to some of the items (especially item #5 and #6), more of the members gave very positive responses. In some instances, the percentage of very positive responses increased during the project, in other instances the percentage dropped, and in yet other instances the percentage stayed the same. An overall view of the initial and final responses is presented in Table 20. These medians reflect the overall differences among the groups at the beginning of the program, the changes during the program, and the differences among the groups at the close of the program. Groups B and D showed the greatest overall percentage of very positive responses at the beginning of the program, while Group C showed the least. Group C remained at its low level, Group B increased its already high level of positiveness, while Group D lost some of it. Group E remained intermediate between Groups B and C, while the percentage of very positive responses in Group A decreased to the level of Group C.

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### TABLE 19

### Percentage of Women in Each Group Who Gave Very Positive* Responses to Pessimism-Optimism Concerning Work Items at the Beginning ($T_1$) and the End ($T_2$) of the Program

| | Group A | | Group B | | Group C | | Group D | | Group E | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $T_1$ | $T_2$ | $T_1$ | $T_2$ | $T_1$ | $T_2$ | $T_1$ | $T_2$ | $T_1$ | $T_2$ |
| Items** | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 37 | 62 | 60 | 70 | 75 | 62 | 70 | 50 | 73 | 27 |
| 2 | 37 | 62 | 40 | 70 | 37 | 25 | 50 | 70 | 36 | 36 |
| 3 | 50 | 12 | 40 | 70 | 25 | 37 | 60 | 30 | 9 | 18 |
| 4 | 0 | 25 | 50 | 30 | 12 | 12 | 30 | 10 | 18 | 27 |
| 5 | 12 | 12 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 10 | 27 | 0 |
| 6 | 25 | 0 | 10 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 30 | 9 | 9 |
| Totals | (8) | | (10) | | (8) | | (10) | | (11) | |

* Very positive = disagree very much on all items, except item #1, whose very positive = agree very much.

** For the actual questions, see text.

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The changes in attitudes during the program were not all in the same direction, even within groups. The process of change is illustrated in Table 21. This table shows the number of young women in the project who changed and remained the same in their responses to the statement, "Blacks who do the same work as whites usually get paid less than whites." The main diagonal of this table shows the number whose attitudes remained the same. There are 12 such persons. Those above the main diagonal become less positive--there are 18 such persons. Those below the main diagonal became more positive. There are 17 such persons. Thus, on this item more members changed their attitude, either positively or negatively, than remained the same.

TABLE 20

Median Percentage of Very Positive Responses to the Pessimism-Optimism Concerning Work Items for Each Group at the Start and End of the Program

| | Group A | Group B | Group C | Group D | Group E |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Median at Start | 31.0 | 40.0 | 18.5 | 40.0 | 22.5 |
| Median at End | 18.5 | 50.0 | 18.5 | 30.0 | 22.5 |
| Number | (8) | (10) | (8) | (10) | (11) |

Measuring change.--This table also illustrates an issue in measuring change. Not all of the young women have the same opportunity to change in the same way. The seven who agreed very much with the statement at the beginning of the program can only change in a negative direction or remain the same. Correlatively, those (eleven) who initially disagreed very much can only change in a positive direction or remain the same. The extreme categories, in short, put a ceiling and a floor on the amount of change that can occur. If all the members of a group initially agreed very much with the statement, change could only be negative. If all the members of a group initially disagreed very much with the statement, change could only be positive.

A measure of change which takes these limitations into account is one which calculates change only for those who can change. The measure of change which will be used in this and following sections computes the percentage who changed in a positive direction based upon those who can change in a positive direction. From this is subtracted the percentage who changed in a negative direction based on those who could change in a negative direction. If these two percentages equal each other, the magnitude of change = .00; if all who could change positively do so, and none of the members change in a negative direction, then the magnitude of change = +1.00. Change will equal -1.00 if none of the potential positive changers change, and all of the potential negative changers do so. For the data of Table 21, change equals +.02 (calculated as follows: 17/36 = .47; 18/40 = .45; .47 = .45 = +.02).

TABLE 21

Turnover of Responses to the Statement "Blacks who do the same work as whites Usually Get Paid Less than Whites"

| Responses at End of the Program | Responses at Beginning of the Program | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Agree very much | Agree a little | Disagree a little | Disagree very much | Totals |
| Agree strongly | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Agree a little | 4 | 3 | 8 | 2 | 17 |
| Disagree a little | 1 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 17 |
| Disagree strongly | 2 | 0 | 6 | 3 | 11 |
| Totals | 7 | 7 | 22 | 11 | 47 |

Change in pessimism-optimism concerning work.--The change measure described in the previous section was applied to each item for each group and the control group. The results are shown in Table 22. In general, the young women in the program became more optimistic about the labor market. On each of the six items, the change score for those in the program is more positive than the change score for those in the control group. This conclusion is reinforced when the separate groups are compared to the control group, item by item. The two groups have a more positive score on two items (items 4 and 5), three groups have a more positive score on one item (item 1), four groups have a more positive score on two items (2 and 3), and all five groups have a more positive score on item 6. The overall differences are not large, however. We, therefore, conclude that there was a modest change in a positive direction on optimism-pessimism regarding employment prospects for the participants in the program.

If attention is directed to the separate peer groups, it can be seen that Groups A, B and D are more positive than the control group on four items; Group C is more positive on only three; and Group E is more positive on five. We may conclude, therefore, that positive change was greatest in Group E, least in Group C, with the three remaining groups at about the same level between these two extremes. These differences among the groups must be viewed in the overall context of only a modest amount of change on the part of participants in the project. With this in mind, attention will now turn to those group factors, if any, which relate to change.

TABLE 22

Change in Pessimism-Optimism Regarding Work for Each Group and the Control Group

| Item | A | B | C | D | E | All Groups | Control Group |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | .48 | .40 | .33 | .00 | -.45 | .16 | .13 |
| 2 | .60 | .45 | .26 | .78 | .37 | .47 | .26 |
| 3 | -.17 | .35 | .00 | .13 | .40 | .19 | -.15 |
| 4 | .17 | -.04 | -.21 | -.17 | .34 | .02 | .01 |
| 5 | -.19 | -.18 | -.55 | .38 | .07 | -.07 | -.08 |
| 6 | -.10 | .45 | .25 | -.19 | .00 | .08 | -.21 |

## Group Structure and Attitude Change

The overall modest amount of change in attitude toward work, and the slight difference among the groups in the amount of change, reduce the likelihood of precisely identifying one or more variables which account for change. By examining a range of variables, however, some clues as to how the peer group mechanism operated may be discerned.

> Attitude change and attendance.--Since participation in the program was found to be significantly related to group formation and development, it is natural to hypothesize that it is also related to attitude change. Furthermore, it would seem that attendance would be a prerequisite for attitude change.
>
> But, it has been shown that attendance is barely related to whether a young women obtained a job, and whether the job was obtained through Northside Center.
>
> When attendance is related to attitude change, the results are virtually negligible. The lack of relationship is illustrated in Table 23. If attendance were related to attitude change, then the change scores would become less positive as the rate of attendance decreased. This happens only for item 4. The other two items show a curvilinear relationship to attendance, but in opposite directions for the two items.
>
> The lack of a relationship between attendance and attitude change is congruent with a finding that members' reports about how much they got out of the program is also unrelated to attendance. (see Table 24).

TABLE 23

Change Scores by Attendance for Selected Pessimism-Optimism Regarding Work Items

| | Attendance | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Item | 76% or more | 26% - 75% | 25% or less |
| 1 | .43 | .02 | .28 |
| 4 | .24 | .08 | -.24 |
| 5 | -.12 | -.06 | -.19 |

TABLE 24

Percentage of Women Reporting That They "Got a Lot" Out of the Program and Their Attendance

| | Percentage of Sessions Attended | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 76% or more | 26% - 75% | 25% or less |
| Percentage Reporting They "Got a Lot" Out of the Program | 90 | 56 | 60 |
| Totals | (10) | (27) | (10) |

If attitude change is not related to attendance, perhaps it is related to one or more structural variables.

Cohesion, role occupancy and attitude change.--Since positive attitude change is greatest for Group E, and least for Group C, the variables which are related to attitude change must be those in which Groups E and C are at opposite extremes.

One dimension which distinguishes among the groups in this way is cohesion. Group E, according to our measure, was the most cohesive, Group C the least.

Group C, it will also be recalled was a group which did not quite come together. Three of the group roles were not filled, and the remaining role, the adaptive one, was filled by the peer aide. Group E, in contrast, filled all of its roles with members from the group, and in addition, the peer aide occupied all four roles. This structure was characterized by a strong peer aide with assistants to help carry out each of the four functions of a group. If the structure of Group E facilitates attitude change, how does its structure compare to that of Groups A, B and D?

Group B did not have a strong peer aide in the sense of a peer aide fulfilling all four roles. In addition, it had no one at all fulfilling the expressive role. Group D did have a strong peer aide, but only two of the roles were filled by the young woman. Group A, the second most cohesive group, seemed to have too many members filling each role, in addition to a strong peer aide. Thus, these groups represent varieties of structures intermediate between those of Groups C and A.

These differences in cohesion and group structure correspond in a general way to the differences between groups that have been found to be productive and those that are not. According to Hare, "In general, groups which are well organized and have high morale based on a large number of inter-team friendships will be motivated to try harder and be the most productive.... The organized groups are more productive not only because they have better procedures for solving task and social-emotional problems, but also because the positions of members in the group are relatively stable and less time need be spent in a status struggle."[1] Of all the groups, Group E underwent the least readjustment. It was built around an initially large clique, and, therefore, began with more cohesion and structure than the other five groups. It could, therefore, devote more of its energy to the task of testing and absorbing the outlook that the Careers Project wished to inculcate.

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[1] A. Paul Hare, Handbook of Small Group Research, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962, p. 375.

# B. SOCIOMETRIC INVENTORY - A

This concerns your reactions to some of the persons in your group. Please answer each question fully and honestly.

Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc.
Northside Center for Child Development
July 1974

## PART I: INITIAL REACTIONS

First, we want you to think way back to when your group first started. We would like to get some idea about your thoughts concerning people you met when you first entered the program a year ago.

1. A. When you first entered this project last July, with whom in the entire project were you close friends at that time?

   B. Was there anyone else in the project that you knew, but who was not a close friend?

2. How many of your close friends at that time were not in the project?

   Number of close friends not in the project :

3. A. When your group started in October, which three persons, not including yourself, did you most want to be like?

   B. Which three members of your group did you admire most at that time?

4. When your group started in October, which three members of your group did you most enjoy talking to? What in particular did you enjoy talking about with each one?

   Topics:

   Topics:

   Topics:

5. In those early days, which three members of your group did you like to hear rap? Were there any particular reasons you enjoyed hearing them?

Reasons:

Reasons:

Reasons:

## PART II: CURRENT REACTIONS

Now that the groups don't meet regularly any more, we would like to get some idea about how you felt just before the sessions ended around the last week in June. In answering the questions in this section, also use the same list of group members that you used in Part I.

6. A. Which three members of your group know the most about jobs?

B. Which three members of your group know the most about parties, dances, boys and dating?

C. Which three members of your group know the most about the things that you learn in school?

7. A. Which three members of your group are most serious about getting a good job?

B. Which three members of your group do you feel are most likely to finish high school, get further education, and pursue a career?

C. Which three members of your group do you feel are most likely to have a happy marriage?

8. A. If you want some advice about jobs, which three persons in your group are you most likely to ask?

B. If you want some advice about school, which three persons in your group are you most likely to ask?

9. Which three persons in your group are most likely to make a good impression in a job interview? Are there any particular reasons why they would make a good impression?

Reasons:

Reasons:

Reasons:

10. A. Which three persons in your group, not including yourself, would you most want to be like now?

B. Which three persons in your group do you now admire most?

11. Which three persons in your group have been most likely to decide the activities of the group?

12. Which three persons in your group have had the most influence on the kinds of things the group decided to talk about?

13. Which persons in the entire project are you close friends with now?

14. How many of the close friends that you have now are not in the project?

Number of close friends not in the project:

15. If you were picking your own Peer Aide, which one person would you pick?

16. What are the reasons that you pick her?

If you have some added comments of your own about your group or your experience, please give them below.

Thank you for your help and cooperation.

# C. QUESTIONNAIRE: WORK AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Northside Center for Child Development
Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc.

April, 1973

Are you

Married_______
Single________
Separated_____
Divorced______

Do you have children?

No______
Yes_____ How many?

If have children, who takes care of them?

My parent(s) _____
Day care_________
Friend___________
Myself___________

A1. Have you ever worked on a job?

Yes_____. If YES, answer: How many jobs have you had since your first job?_________
If YES, (use second page for additional answers)

No______.

Answer for Last job:

When was that?________________________________
(From month-year to month-year)
What kind of job was it?
How long did you work?________________________
(Number of months)
Why did you stop?

A1(a) When did you work in your next-to-last job?
______________________________________________
(From month-year to month-year)
What kind of job was it?
How long did you work?________________________
(Number of months)
Why did you stop?

A1(b) For other jobs - Give date when worked for each.
Give kind of job for each.

Tell why you stopped working for each.

A2 If you have looked for a job,
What different places did you go for information?

Did you follow through?

At what places where you went were you successful in getting the job you were told about?

When were you not successful in getting the job?

Why do you feel you did not get the job?

## PART ONE

## QUESTIONS ON OCCUPATIONS

1. If you could have any job at all in a company or firm where would you like to work, which job would you like to have? WRITE NAME OF JOB WITH JOB TITLE. TELL WHAT DUTIES ARE.

2. Do you think you could ever get it?
CHECK THE ONE ANSWER YOU REALLY BELIEVE.

    1. _____Very likely
    2. _____Somewhat likely
    3. _____50-50 chance
    4. _____Somewhat unlikely
    5. _____Very unlikely

3. If you could choose anything at all, how would you choose to make your living? THIS MEANS ACTUALLY WORKING AT SOMETHING. WRITE NAME OF JOB OR OCCUPATION WITH TITLE. TELL WHAT DUTIES ARE.

3a. What sort of schooling do you think you would need for this? CHECK ONE.

1. _____Finish High School
2. _____Some College
3. _____Finish College
4. _____Graduate or Professional School
5. _____Trade, technical or commercial training

4. If you had the chance to go into any kind of work you wanted, say five years from now, what occupation would you choose? Think only of what you would like to do, what you would be happy at. Do not think about the abilities required or the training which is necessary to get into this kind of work. Just write the name of the occupation you would like to be in. If you want to write more than one, answer with your favorite one first.

4a. Now say why you would like the kind of work you mentioned.

4b. What sort of schooling do you think you need for this? CHECK ONE.

1. _____High School Diploma
2. _____Some College
3. _____Finish College
4. _____Graduate or Professional School
5. _____Trade, technical, or commercial training.

4c. Do you think you could ever get this kind of work? CHECK THE ONE ANSWER YOU REALLY BELIEVE.

1. _____Very likely
2. _____Somewhat likely
3. _____50-50 chance
4. _____Somewhat unlikely
5. _____Very unlikely

5. Supposing you do not have a job, and somebody offered you a job that gave you $100.00 a week, then somebody else offered you a job for $75.00 a week now, with the chance of making $150.00 a week in the next two years, which would you take?

1. _____$100 a week
2. _____$75 a week now with a chance of $150 a week, two years later.

ANSWER REGARDLESS OF PARENTAL STATUS.

6. If you should have a daughter, or if you do have a daughter, what would you like your daughter to do for a living?

7. What sort of schooling would she need to make her living that way? CHECK ONE.

1. _____High School Diploma
2. _____Some College
3. _____Finish College
4. _____Graduate or Professional School
5. _____Trade, technical or commercial training

## PART TWO

## QUESTIONS ABOUT WORK

These are things that people may believe or that they may feel about working. Please answer according to whether you really agree or disagree with them. Your name will not be connected with the answer, but it is important that you give your actual feelings in order that we may plan a more effective program.

First read each sentence. Then check the one number you most closely agree with.

1. How do you feel about having a job? Would you like to have one or not? CHECK ONE.

1. _____Like it very much
2. _____Like a little bit
3. _____Like and dislike it equally
4. _____Dislike it a little bit
5. _____Dislike it very much

2. Some people think that their job makes them feel like a nobody. Do you think if you had a job that you would agree or disagree? CHECK ONE.

1. _____Agree very much
2. _____Agree a little
3. _____Disagree a little
4. _____Disagree very much
5. _____Does not apply, never worked.

3. Some people feel that if they get a better job with more money that people would tend to respect them more. Other people would feel that they would respect them less. How do you feel? CHECK ONE.

    1. _____Respect them more
    2. _____Respect them less.

4. If you got a good job paying good money, do you think the people you work with would be more friendly to you or less friendly? CHECK ONE.

    1. _____More friendly
    2. _____Less friendly.

5. In some companies, workers get the feeling that they are part of a big family. In other companies workers get the feeling that they are part of a big machine. How do you think you would feel about working? CHECK THE ONE STATEMENT YOU MOST CLOSELY FEEL.

    1. _____Part of a big family
    2. _____Somewhere in between
    3. _____Part of a big machine.

6. I believe that people are out for themselves. CHECK THE ONE STATEMENT YOU MOST CLOSELY FEEL.

    1. _____Agree very much
    2. _____Agree a little
    3. _____Disagree a little
    4. _____Disagree very much

7. There is much in my life I am proud of. CHECK THE ONE STATEMENT YOU MOST CLOSELY AGREE WITH.

    1. _____Agree very much
    2. _____Agree a little
    3. _____Disagree a little
    4. _____Disagree very much

8. Some people enjoy taking chances in games and in life. How do you feel? CHECK THE ONE STATEMENT YOU MOST CLOSELY AGREE WITH.

    1. _____Agree very much
    2. _____Agree a little
    3. _____Disagree a little
    4. _____Disagree very much.

9. There is no use in training blacks for better jobs because most white employers would not hire them anyway. CHECK THE ONE STATEMENT YOU MOST CLOSELY AGREE WITH.

    1. _____Agree very much
    2. _____Agree a little
    3. _____Disagree a little
    4. _____Disagree very much

10. Unions do not help you; they just collect your dues. CHECK THE ONE STATEMENT YOU MOST CLOSELY AGREE WITH.

    1. _____Agree very much
    2. _____Agree a little
    3. _____Disagree a little
    4. _____Disagree very much

11. In this country most people do not want to see blacks move up to better jobs. CHECK THE ONE STATEMENT YOU MOST CLOSELY AGREE WITH.

    1. _____Agree very much
    2. _____Agree a little
    3. _____Disagree a little
    4. _____Disagree very much

12. I am able to do more skilled work than I have had a chance to do. CHECK THE ONE STATEMENT YOU MOST CLOSELY AGREE WITH.

    1. _____Agree very much
    2. _____Agree a little
    3. _____Disagree a little
    4. _____Disagree very much

13. Unions have helped better conditions for working people. CHECK THE ONE STATEMENT YOU MOST CLOSELY AGREE WITH.

    1. _____Agree very much
    2. _____Agree a little
    3. _____Disagree a little
    4. _____Disagree very much

14. Even if I could do more skilled work than I do now, I would not get a chance to do it. CHECK THE ONE STATEMENT YOU MOST CLOSELY AGREE WITH.

    1. _____Agree very much
    2. _____Agree a little
    3. _____Disagree a little
    4. _____Disagree very much

15. Blacks are better off today than they were five years ago. CHECK THE ONE STATEMENT YOU MOST CLOSELY AGREE WITH.

    1. _____Agree very much
    2. _____Agree a little
    3. _____Disagree a little
    4. _____Disagree very much

16. Blacks who do the same work as whites usually get paid less than whites. CHECK THE ONE STATEMENT YOU MOST CLOSELY AGREE WITH.

    1. _____Agree very much
    2. _____Agree a little
    3. _____Disagree a little
    4. _____Disagree very much

17. A job is just a way to make money and it is better to find the easiest job that pays the most. CHECK THE ONE STATEMENT YOU MOST CLOSELY AGREE WITH.

    1. _____Agree very much
    2. _____Agree a little
    3. _____Disagree a little
    4. _____Disagree very much

18. If you are willing to work hard, the boss will just take advantage of you. CHECK THE ONE STATEMENT YOU MOST CLOSELY AGREE WITH.

    1. _____Agree very much
    2. _____Agree a little
    3. _____Disagree a little
    4. _____Disagree very much

19. People who try to get ahead are not really liked by other people. CHECK THE ONE STATEMENT YOU MOST CLOSELY AGREE WITH.

    1. _____Agree very much
    2. _____Agree a little
    3. _____Disagree a little
    4. _____Disagree very much

20. If you had $100 clear coming in every week without working, would you want to quit working or would you want to continue working? CHECK THE ONE STATEMENT YOU MOST CLOSELY AGREE WITH.

1. _____Continue working full-time
2. _____Continue working part-time and go to school
3. _____Continue working part-time
4. _____Quit working

Let us suppose a training program were given where you work so that the workers could learn to do another job that paid more money.

21. How interested would you be if you were paid while you were being trained during your regular hours of work? CHECK THE ONE STATEMENT YOU MOST CLOSELY AGREE WITH.

    1. _____Very interested
    2. _____Moderately interested
    3. _____Slightly interested
    4. _____Not interested

22. How interested would you be if it meant that you had to stay after regular hours without pay? CHECK THE ONE STATEMENT YOU MOST CLOSELY AGREE WITH.

    1. _____Very interested
    2. _____Moderately interested
    3. _____Slightly interested
    4. _____Not interested.

Date Filled Out: ____________

# D. QUESTIONNAIRE: WORK AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc.
Northside Center for Child Development

July 1974

## INSTRUCTIONS

This concerns your ideas about jobs and your own experiences. The purpose is to help us plan a more effective program. This means that, in order for your ideas to be of help to us, it is very important for you to answer every question that applies to you personally. So when you start in, please keep these points in mind:

1. The total time you will need to finish is somewhere around a half hour to forty-five minutes. Most questions just require you to make a check mark; but a few questions require you to write in answers in your own words.

   So please look over the directions to each question before answering it. The directions are always printed IN LARGE CAPITAL LETTERS LIKE THIS.

2. Remember, all your answers are CONFIDENTIAL, and will not be shared with anyone on the Program Staff. Although we do ask you to give your name, that is just so that a member of Research staff can make sure that every girl is accounted for.

   Therefore, please do your best to give your actual feelings in each answer.

3. Next to the answer spaces for each question there are some numbers. Don't worry about them. They are just there to help us keep track of the different answers.

## PART ONE: A FEW INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS

F1. Are you
(CHECK ONE ANSWER)

Married and living with your husband now _____1
Separated now _____2
Divorced now _____3
Single now _____4

F1. What would you have answered one year ago?
(CHECK ONE)

Married and living with your husband one year ago _____1
Separated as of one year ago _____2
Divorced as of one year ago _____3
Single as of one year ago _____4

F3. Do you have a child or children?

No ____2
Yes ____1 (IF YES, ANSWER BELOW)

F4. How many children?

F5. Age of oldest child ____
Age of second oldest child ____
Age of third oldest child ____

F6. Who takes care of your child or children? (CHECK ONE)

My parent(s) ____1
Day Care ____2
A friend ____3
Myself ____4

F7. What is your date of birth?

F8. What is your means of support? (CHECK AS MANY AS APPLY)

Wages or salary from a job I work at now ____1
Public assistance ____2
My husband ____3
My parent (s) ____4
A friend (Not related to me) ____5
Other (GIVE DETAILS):

## PART TWO: KINDS OF JOBS TO THINK ABOUT

A1. Suppose you could choose any way at all to make a living right after you had finished all the schooling or college you wanted. (Or, if you have already gotten all the schooling you want, suppose you could choose any way at all to be making a living right now.)

What kind of work would you REALLY want to do (regardless of what you have actually been trained to do)?

(WRITE NAME OF JOB OR OCCUPATION. STATE THE MAIN THINGS THINGS YOU WOULD DO IN THIS WORK.)

A2. What sort of schooling do you think somebody needs in order to get this kind of work? (CHECK ONE)

No special kind of schooling ______1
On-the-job training ______2
Finish high school ______3
Some college (one or two years) ______4
Finish college (four years) ______5
Graduate or professional school ______6
Trade, technical, or commercial training ______7

A3. Now think ten or fifteen years ahead for a minute, to when you're 32 or 33 years old.

What kind of work would you REALLY most like to be doing at age 32 or 33 (regardless of what you have actually been trained to do)?
(WRITE NAME OF JOB OR OCCUPATION. STATE THE MAIN THINGS YOU WOULD DO IN THIS WORK.)

A4. Do you think you probably will be doing that kind of work at age 32 or 33, or not? (CHECK ONE)

Yes, I'm pretty sure I will ______1
I hope so, and I expect to try ______2
I'm not very hopeful that I can ______3
I probably won't be ______4

(IF NOT VERY HOPEFUL OR PROBABLY WON'T BE, ANSWER BELOW)

(A5.) Why not? STATE EACH REASON, IF MORE THAN ONE)

(A6.) What's the best kind of work you think you will have a chance to be doing at age 32 or 33? (MAKE THE BEST GUESS YOU CAN. WRITE NAME OF JOB OR OCCUPATION)

A7. What type of schooling do you estimate somebody needs in order to get this kind of work? (CHECK ONE)

No special kind of schooling ______1
On-the-job training ______2
Finish high school ______3
Some college (one or two years) ______4
Finish college (four years) ______5
Graduate or professional school ______6
Trade, technical, or commercial training ______7

A8. Do you think that you personally could complete that level of schooling, if you wanted to try for it? (CHECK ONE)

Yes, I've already completed it ______1
Yes, I could ______2
I'm not sure ______3
No, I couldn't ______4

(IF NOT SURE OR IF COULDN'T, ANSWER BELOW)

(A9.) Why not? (STATE EACH REASON, IF MORE THAN ONE)

A10. Do you think that you personally will actually try to complete that level of schooling? (CHECK ONE)

Yes, I've already completed it ______1
Yes, I definitely expect to try ______2
Maybe, if certain problems don't get too big to handle ______3

(IF MAYBE, CERTAIN PROBLEMS, STATE WHAT PROBLEMS, BE SPECIFIC)

Probably not ______4
Definitely not ______5

(IF PROBABLY NOT OR IF DEFINITELY NOT, ANSWER BELOW)

(All.) Why not? (STATE EACH REASON, IF MORE THAN ONE)

A12. What do you think is the best kind of work that a black girl or woman of your age, with your abilities, with your number of grades in school completed, could get right now? (MAKE THE BEST GUESS YOU CAN. WRITE NAME OF JOB OR OCCUPATION. STATE THE MAIN THINGS SOMEONE DOES IN THIS WORK.)

A13. If you should have a daughter (or if you already have a daughter), what would you like your daughter to do for a living? (WRITE NAME OR JOB OR OCCUPATION. STATE THE MAIN THINGS SOMEONE DOES IN THIS WORK.)

A14. What sort of schooling would she need to make her living that way? (CHECK ONE)

No special kind of schooling ______1
On-the-job training ______2
Finish high school ______3
Some college (one or two years) ______4
Finish college (four years) ______5
Graduate or professional school ______6
Trade, technical or commercial training ______7

## PART THREE: YOUR IDEAS ABOUT WORK

Here are some sentences about things that some people do believe and other people do not believe about working. You may find that you agree with certain sentences and disagree with others.

FOR EACH SENTENCE HERE CHECK THE ONE ANSWER HERE THAT COMES CLOSEST TO WHAT YOU REALLY BELIEVE.

| | | I agree strongly | I agree a little | I disagree a little | I disagree strongly |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A15. | There is much in my life I am proud of. | ______1 | ______2 | ______3 | ______4 |
| A16. | Some people enjoy taking chances in games and in life. How do you feel? | ______1 | ______2 | ______3 | ______4 |

|  |  | I agree strongly | I agree a little | I disagree a little | I disagree strongly |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A17. | There is no use in training blacks for better jobs because most white employers would not hire them anyway. | ____1 | ____2 | ____3 | ____4 |
| A18. | I am more determined than most people are to make something of my life. | ____1 | ____2 | ____3 | ____4 |
| A19. | Unions do not help you, they just collect your dues. | ____1 | ____2 | ____3 | ____4 |
| A20. | Women have a harder time finding good jobs than men do. | ____1 | ____2 | ____3 | ____4 |
| A21. | In this country most people do not want to see blacks move up to better jobs. | ____1 | ____2 | ____3 | ____4 |
| A22. | I am able to do more skilled work than I have had a chance to do. | ____1 | ____2 | ____3 | ____4 |
| A23. | Unions have helped better conditions for working people. | ____1 | ____2 | ____3 | ____4 |

| | | I agree strongly | I agree a little | I disagree a little | I disagree strongly |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A24. | Even if I could do more skilled work than I do now, I would not get a chance to do it. | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |
| A25. | It's better to be on welfare than to have a job you don't like that you have to work very hard at. | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |
| A26. | Blacks are better off today than they were five years ago. | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |
| A27. | Whatever's going to happen to me will happen; so why knock myself out trying to change things. | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |
| A28. | Blacks who do the same work as whites usually get paid less than whites. | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |
| A29. | A job is just a way to make money, and it is better to find the easiest job that pays the most. | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |
| A30. | People who try to get ahead are not really liked by other people. | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |

| | I agree strongly | I agree a little | I disagree a little | I disagree strongly |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A31. Women who do the same work as men usually get paid less than men. | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |
| A32. I will probably be on welfare ten years from now. | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |

Let us suppose that at a company where you work, a training program is given so that workers can learn to do another job that pays more money.

A36. Would you want to take part in that program if you could be paid while you were being trained during your regular hours of work? (CHECK ONE)

Would be very interested in taking part _____1
Would be moderately interested _____2
Would be slightly interested _____3
Wound not be interested in taking part _____4

A37. Would you want to take part if it meant that you had to stay after regular hours without pay? (CHECK ONE)

Would be very interested in taking part _____1
Would be moderately interested _____2
Would be slightly interested _____3
Would not be interested in taking part _____4

A38. Suppose you had a friend with pretty good abilities who had looked very hard for work for two months, but who hadn't found a job yet.

Would she be showing good sense, in your opinion, if she stopped looking for work until there were more jobs to go around in this area? Or showing good sense if she kept on looking as long as there was even a small chance to find a job? (CHECK ONE)

More sense if she stopped looking until more jobs available _____1

More sense if she kept on looking, as long as a chance to find a job _____2

A39. Suppose you did not have a job, and somebody offered you a job that gave you $100.00 a week. Then somebody else offered you a job for $75.00 a week now, but with the chance of making $150.00 a week in the next two years. Which would you take? (CHECK ONE)

| | |
|---|---|
| Would take the $100 a week. | _____1 |
| Would take the $75 a week now with the chance of $150 a week in two years. | _____2 |

A40. If you had money coming in from a job and also $100 clear coming in every week without working, would you want to quit your job or continue working? (CHECK ONE)

| | |
|---|---|
| Continue working full-time | _____1 |
| Continue working part-time and go to school | _____2 |
| Continue working part-time | _____3 |
| Quit working | _____4 |

Suppose you had a chance to take a very good new job. But if you did, it would make problems for you and your husband or you and your boyfriend.

| Would you take this job | | Probably Would take job | Can't decide | Probably Would not take job |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A41. | If it would keep you and him from being together a lot of times. (CHECK ONE, BEST ANSWER) | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 |
| A42. | If he objected because it would make him feel small for you to be bringing in money. (CHECK ONE) | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 |
| A43. | If it meant that you had to put off having a baby for a long time. (CHECK ONE) | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 |

## PART FOUR: (A) YOU AND YOUR FRIENDS; (B) WORK IDEAS THAT YOU AND YOUR FRIENDS SHARE OR DO NOT SHARE IN COMMON

P. Do you spend time with other girls?

No ______2 (IF NO, START WITH QUESTION P5)
Yes______3 (IF YES, ANSWER BELOW)

(P2.) How many other girls? (CHECK CORRECT ANSWER)

One ______1
Two or three ______2
Four to six ______3
Seven or more ______4

(P3.) How often do you get together? (CHECK ONE)

At least once a day ______1
Several times a week ______2
About once a week ______3
Less than once a week ______4

(P4.) What do you do when you are together? (CHECK AS MANY AS APPLY)

Listen to music at someone's home ______1
Discuss different things about people ______2
Talk about school ______3
Talk about work, or finding a job ______4
Tell each other what we have been doing ______5
Go to a movie or a concert or a play of something ______6
Take part in some social activity, like a party or a dance ______7
Take part in some sports activity, like bicycling or tennis ______8
Help each other, with studying, or housework, or whatever ______9

Other (WHAT? GIVE DETAILS)

P5. If you had a job you liked very much that paid good money, but none of your close friends could get work, do you think you would

(CHECK THE ONE ANSWER CLOSEST TO WHAT YOU REALLY THINK YOU'D DO)

Probably quit because your friends were not working ______1
Probably keep your job, but feel bad that you were letting your friends down by not quitting ______2
Probably keep your job and not feel that you were letting your friends down ______3
Keep your job and be glad you were luckier than your friends to have it ______4

P6. Suppose you and some of your close friends were helping each other hunt for jobs, but after a long while with no success, your friends all gave up. Do you think you would

(CHECK THE ANSWER CLOSEST TO WHAT YOU REALLY THINK YOU'D DO)

Probably continue looking for work by yourself, after your friends had quit ______1
Stop looking once your friends stopped ______2

P7. Suppose you and some of your close friends were all applying for jobs at the same place, and you were accepted for a job but your friends were turned down. Do you think you would

(CHECK WHAT YOU WOULD REALLY DO)

Probably not take the job myself ______1
Take the job, but feel you were letting your friends down by taking it ______2
Take the job and not feel you were letting your friends down ______3
Take the job and be glad that, if anyone had to be turned down, at least it wasn't you ______4

Here are four different ways to start some sentences that end up with these words.

| COMPLETE EACH SENTENCE BY CHECKING THE ONE WAY TO START THAT SENTENCE THAT IS MOST TRUE FOR YOU. | | All or most of my CLOSE friends | About half of my CLOSE friends | Under half of my CLOSE friends | I do not have any CLOSE friends who |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| P8. | Are looking for work. | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |
| P9. | Have helped me hunt for work, or we have helped each other hunt. | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |
| P10. | Have jobs now. | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |
| P11. | Are pretty discouraged about the chances of ever finding a decent job. | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |
| P12. | Have jobs that I would consider good jobs. | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |
| P13. | Have gone as a group with me to see about jobs, like on an interview. | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |
| P14. | Are girls or women | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |
| P15. | Are guys or men. | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |
| P16. | Have completed fewer grades of school (or college) than I have | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |
| P17. | Have completed more grades of school (or college) than I have | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |
| P18. | Have dropped out of school or are discouraged about their chances to graduate. | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |
| P19. | Are either planning to go to college or are already in college. | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |
| P20. | Are out of school, nor working, and not really looking for work. | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |
| P21. | Have spent a lot of time together with me, talking about job matters or how to get jobs. | _____1 | _____2 | _____3 | _____4 |

(IF YOU ANSWERED HERE THAT SOME OF YOUR CLOSE FRIENDS AND YOU HAVE TALKED A LOT ABOUT JOB MATTERS, GO TO THIS QUESTION NEXT.)

(IF YOU ANSWERED HERE THAT YOU DON'T HAVE CLOSE FRIENDS WITH WHOM YOU'VE TALKED ABOUT JOB MATTERS, GO TO QUESTION J1.)

P22. Looking back on your rap sessions with friends about job matters, do you think you've gotten much out of those sessions on the whole, or not? (CHECK THE ONE ANSWER THAT COMES CLOSEST TO WHAT YOU BELIEVE)

Got a lot from them _____1
Got something; a good amount _____2
(IF GOT A LOT OR GOT SOMETHING ANSWER BELOW)

P23. What did you get from those sessions, as best you can remember? (STATE THE MAIN THINGS)

Didn't get much _____3
Nothing at all _____4
(IF DIDN'T GET MUCH OR NOTHING AT ALL, ANSWER BELOW)

P24. Why do you think you didn't get much or anything from those sessions? (MAKE THE BEST GUESS YOU CAN)

## PART FIVE: YOUR RECENT EXPERIENCES WITH JOBS OR IN LOOKING FOR WORK

J1. Have you ever applied for a job and not been hired?

Yes _____1 (IF YES, ANSWER BELOW)

(J2.) How many times ?
(J3.) Why do you feel you weren't hired those times? (STATE EVERY REASON IF MORE THAN ONE)

(J4.) When was the last time you applied for a job and were turned down? (GIVE MONTH AND YEAR)

No _____2

J5. Has there been any job that you did get hired for in the last twelve months--a job that you actually worked at--between last July and right now?

Yes ____1
No ____2

IF YES, ANSWER BELOW.

IF NO, START WITH QUESTION J13.

J6. How many jobs have you had since last July?

(FOR EACH SUCH JOB, ANSWER QUESTIONS J7 TO J13 BELOW. IF YOU NEED MORE ROOM TO WRITE, USE BACK OF PAGE.)

| | For Last Job (Since July '73) | Next-to Last job (Since July 1973) | Any Other Job (Since July '73) |
|---|---|---|---|
| (J7.) What sort of work did you do in this job? | | | |
| (J8.) How did you find this job? (IF YOU GOT HELP, NAME THE AGENCIES OR PERSONS WHO HELPED FIND IT) | | | |
| (J9.) When did you start this job? (GIVE DATE) | | | |
| When did you leave it? (GIVE DATE) | | | |
| (J10.) How many hours a week did (do) you usually work in this job? | | | |

| | For Last Job (Since July '73) | Next-to Last job (Since July 1973 | Any Other Job (Since July '73) |
|---|---|---|---|
| (J11.) Did you like more things than you disliked about this job, or dislike more than you liked, or were likes and dislikes about equal? | | | |
| (J12.) Why did you leave this job? (STATE EACH REASON, IF MORE THAN ONE.) | | | |

J13. Are you looking for work at the present time? (CHECK EITHER YES OR NOT)

Yes _____1 (IF YES, ANSWER BELOW)

(J14.) Mention here each different way that you are now using to hunt for a job.

(1st way)
(2nd way)
(3rd way)
(4th way)
(5th way)

No _____2 (IF NO, ANSWER BELOW)

(J15.) What are the reasons why you are not now looking for work? (STATE EVERY REASON, IF MORE THAN ONE)

J16. Did you look for work at any earlier time this past year, but then give up looking? (CHECK EITHER YES OR NO)

Yes _____1 (IF YES, ANSWER BELOW)

(J17.) Mention here each different way that you were then using to hunt for a job.

(1st way)
(2nd way)
(3rd way)
(4th way)
(5th way)

(J18.) What were the reasons why you then gave up looking for work? (STATE EVERY REASON, IF MORE THAN ONE)

No _____2

## PART SIX: SCHOOL QUESTIONS

E1. In September (or October) 1973, were you enrolled in school and attending classes most of the time?

Yes _____1 (IF YES, ANSWER BELOW)

(E2.) What grade were you in then?

(E3.) What school?

No _____2

E4. When was the last date that you were enrolled in school and attending classes most of the time? (GIVE MONTH AND YEAR)

E5. What school?

E6. Was there ever any time before this date when you dropped out of classes for a while, but then came back later and completed the same grade you had dropped out of? (CHECK ONE)

No _____2

Yes _____1 (IF YES, ANSWER BELOW)

(E7.) How many times did that happen, dropping out then coming back and completing the same grade? (WRITE NUMBER IN)

(E8.) FOR EACH SUCH TIME, ANSWER QUESTIONS E9 TO E11 BELOW.

|  | For Last time you left then came back | For Next-to-last time | For any time before that |
|---|---|---|---|
| (E9.) What grade were you in at the time (and later completed that same grade)? |  |  |  |
| (E10.) When did you drop out temporarily (MONTH AND YEAR) |  |  |  |
| (E11.) When did you return to complete the grade? (MONTH AND YEAR) |  |  |  |

E12. What was the last grade you completed? (CHECK CORRECT ANSWER)

6th grade or below ____1
7th grade ____2
8th grade ____3
9th grade ____4
10th grade ____5
11th grade ____6
High school grad equivalency diploma ____7
High school grad regular diploma ____8
College (one or more years) ____9
Trade, technical or commercial school ____0

(IF YOUR LAST GRADE COMPLETED WAS THE 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th OR 11th GRADE, ANSWER EVERY QUESTION BELOW)

(IF YOU ARE A HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE WITH EITHER REGULAR OR EQUIVALENCY DIPLOMA GO TO QUESTION E15)

(IF YOU COMPLETED SOME COLLEGE OR TRADE, TECHNICAL OR COMMERCIAL SCHOOL, GO TO QUESTION E16)

E13. Do you expect to complete the next grade level? (CHECK ONE)

Yes, definitely ____1
Yes, if I can ____2
No ____3

E14. Do you expect to graduate from high school or earn an equivalency diploma? (CHECK ONE)

Yes, definitely ______1
Yes, if I can ______2
No ______3

E15. Do you expect to go on to college? (CHECK ONE)

Yes, definitely ______1
Yes, if I can ______2
No ______3

(NOW GO TO QUESTION E16)

E16. Do you plan to pick up your school studies again any time soon; by returning to classes, or starting a home study course, or going to college, or whatever? (CHECK ONE)

Yes, I plan to resume studies right away, this next September or October ______1
No, not right away, but maybe in another year or two ______2
No, probably not at all. I feel that I'm through with school and studies ______3

(IF NO, NOT RIGHT AWAY OR IF NO, NOT AT ALL, ANSWER BELOW)

(E17.) What's the main thing you expect to be doing for the next six months or so, the main way you'll probably be spending your time? (MAKE THE BEST GUESS YOU CAN. BE SPECIFIC)

Thank you for your cooperation in filling this out. If you want to make any final comments about any of the questions, please just write them in below and on the back of this page if necessary.

P25. Just a final couple of questions. Think back for a minute over your experiences in the Careers Project this past year. Do you think you got much out of the project, everything considered, or not?

(CHECK THE ONE ANSWER THAT COMES CLOSEST TO WHAT YOU BELIEVE)

Got a lot from the program ______1
Got something; a good amount ______2

(IF GOT A LOT OR GOT SOMETHING, ANSWER BELOW)

(P26.) What did you get from the program, as best you can remember? (STATE THE MAIN THINGS)

Didn't get much ______3
Nothing at all ______4

(IF DIDN'T GET MUCH OR NOTHING AT ALL, ANSWER BELOW)

(P27.) Why do you think you didn't get much or anything from the program? (MAKE THE BEST GUESS YOU CAN)

If you have any further comments about the program, please give them below or on the back of this page.

Thank you for your cooperation in filling this out. If you want to make any final comments about any of the questions, please just write them on this page.

## E. CHRONOLOGICAL PORTRAIT OF C*

7/19/73 C began group sessions. Attended through 7/30, was absent 8/1 and 8/6, attended again on 8/14, then stayed away from 9/5 to 4/2/74 (attendance records).

Career aspiration--court stenographer.
Work experience--cleaners for 7 months; a local public school, assistant counselor for one year.
Interest--modern dance.

10/2/73 C gave birth to a son.

11/14/73 Peer Aide spoke to C about returning to the group; C said she would but needs babysitting money.

3/7/74 C was invited for interim testing. She was tested on 3/29. C indicated she had applied for a college training program, but had not heard from them. A call was made in her behalf.

4/2/74 C resumed group sessions. There she expressed interest in job and education information, and stayed after the session to learn more about a training program. Program staff learned that before returning to the group, C had enrolled in a GED (high school equivalency diploma) and business training program located at 2090 Seventh Avenue. Staff advised C also to try the New York State Employment Service and Youth Opportunity for jobs, and to contact HARYOU Act for information on training programs. The college training program called C on this date, but she was not at home.

4/3/74 C participated in Role Reversal activity.

4/11/74 C described her visit to college. They located her record and said they would be calling her for a summer program.

4/16/74 C saw a film on health careers, participated in role reversal activity, "Sally and her job interview." C said the role reversal was nice. Following the group activity, C asked her Peer Aide for further information on jobs at a transit company, pursuant to a notice on the bulletin board. C indicated that she was attending a school of continuing education, but wasn't working. She had been in and disliked the College Bound program. C sees employment as a means of supporting her child and not resting this responsibility on her parents. "I don't want to have to ask anyone for money. I want to work." The Job Counselor gave C additional information regarding the transit company.

---

* Edited and based upon staff logs.

4/22/74 C evaluated for individual skills.

4/24/74 C participated in skills workshop and requested letter of introduction to the transit company.

4/25/74 C given the letter of introduction to the transit company and an appointment set up for her.

4/29/74 C came in to review the map of the United States prior to her job interview with the transit company. C then left for the interview.

4/30/74 The transit company representative called and stated, "C is very personable, she likes people, she's very sincere. I don't think, however, she can pick up the detail work. Because she has so much personality I will give her a try." Representative was uncertain as to when training would begin.

5/8/74 C came in for job skills remediation and a workshop. She described the transit company representative as "real nice; I would like to work there." Staff told C that transit company planned to hire her. C said with a big smile, "That's good--I am so happy."

5/20/74 The Job Counselor called the transit company regarding job training. She said she is interested in the Careers Project girls, but doesn't yet have a starting date. Told that several girls were waiting to hear from her, she promised to call when training begins.

5/21/74 C attended a manpower seminar.

5/29/74 Staff called college; the registrar advised that C had been accepted into a summer training program for GED and business classes. The classes would begin on June 11.

5/31/74 Transit company called staff to ask C to report for training on 6/3/74 at 3:00 P.M. C said with a big smile, "I love you. Everything is going my way these days."

6/3/74 C requested carfare in order to get to work; she was given $1.05.

6/5/74 Staff contacted C on her progress. C reported that she was happy and doing well in training. She had scored 95 1/2 on her first test (6/3) and 85 on another (6/4). Two additional tests will be administered; the four test scores will be combined, and if she passes, she will begin working on 6/10. C will be paid $80 for the week's training.

6/10/74 C called, very excited, to announce her full employment at the transit company. She passed her training on 6/7 and begins work on this date (6/10) as an information operator, at $4.44 per hour. Training was a good and rewarding experience for C. She described her white male instructor as "very fair and a nice person. He moved slowly, repeated himself, and did not move along until every member in the class stated that he/she understood this material." C requested and received evening hours (3 P.M.-11 P.M.) so as not to interfere with her morning classes in the college training program. C is a very cordial person who regards employment as independence. She wants very much to support her son and herself. C pays her son's paternal grandmother $20.00 per week to care for him. The child is often with her, and C is very patient with him.

6/17/74 C reported that her training classes at the college will begin on 6/27 and will run from 9 A.M. to 12:15 P.M. These will prepare her for her high school equivalency exam.

7/17/74 Staff visited C's supervisor at the transit company. She described C as pleasant and a good worker, but stated that she had worked a full 35-hour week only once in her 5 weeks of employment. "C always comes to work, but never on time. I plan to have a talk with her." C will be told that if she doesn't come in on time she will be fired. She said that this was meant as a threat to jolt C, that she wasn't really going to fire her. She suggested that staff also speak to C regarding her lateness.

7/18/74 Staff called C and left a message.

7/23/74 C was called again and was not at home on this occasion, as well.

7/27/74 C came in for post-testing and explained that she had meant to call. Staff related the supervisor's concern, and C said the supervisor had spoken to her. C is now getting to work on time, but has stopped attending her morning classes, as she can't get to them on time. then had to leave to get to work. Staff asked her to come in during the week of 7/29 to discuss future plans.

## F. CHRONOLOGICAL PORTRAIT OF K

Weekly logs of the job search activities of the individuals were kept by staff. Given below are excerpts from logs for one person covering the period December 1973 through October 1974.

December 17, 1973: K called, stated her need for a job. After talking to K, I called Mr.... at the bank. An appointment was made for K. K called the day following her interview; she was despondent. After two interviews at the bank, she still did not have a job. She was told by Ms...., the interviewer, that they would call her. K felt it was just a put-off. I told K I would talk to Mr.... again. In talking to him I was assured K would be hired.

January 3-10, 1974: On January 3 K called and advised me that the apartment she shared with a girl friend had been destroyed by fire. She said she was without any clothes and that she was calling from the welfare office. She was applying for assistance and was in desperate need of a job. She is not homeless since Red Cross placed her in a Manhattan hotel.

I spoke to my colleagues about K's clothing problem. It was suggested that K come to Northside that afternoon. I offered to give clothing to K if necessary. As far as employment is concerned, I told K that the job she applied for earlier in December at the bank had become available. Mrs.... of the bank called me on December 26 to advise that a telegram was sent to K before Christmas; K, however, did not respond. I told K that I spoke to Mrs.... every day, asking her to keep the position open. K explained that she had moved, leaving no forwarding address, and therefore did not receive the telegram. She apologized for not keeping in touch with the Careers Project. I arranged an appointment with Mrs.... for K on January 7.

* * *

January 4: S called to ask me to come to Northside Center to speak with K.

K stated she moved from... on December 6, 1973. The rent was $14 a week. The three-room apartment she moved to was shared with K's girl friend, B, and her two children. The rent was $85 a month. After being in the apartment for a week, B's sister and her child moved in.

* * *

According to K the fire was started by a man on the first floor who was intoxicated. At the time she was at home with the three children. After getting out of the building and to the streets, K remembered her cat. She asked a male friend to keep the children as she wanted to return to the burning apartment to retrieve her cat. She also wanted to get her money; however, the money was no longer there. She assumed the firemen had taken it. She did manage to get her cat. I asked K if she thought about her life when she decided to reenter the burning building. She said, "No, I love my cat and wanted her." She stated that one of the children followed her and fell; he was burned slightly on the arm. I also asked why her money was kept in the apartment rather than in the bank. She said she was afraid of an oncoming depression--the bank might close and she would not be permitted to get her money. I tried to explain the safety of a banking system as opposed to a mattress.

B was at work at the time of the fire. Her sister was in the streets, heard about the fire and returned home. According to K, B's sister found the man who started the fire and broke his arm. He was hospitalized.

The Red Cross moved the families that were burned out to a Manhattan hotel, where she is presently residing. I offered clothing to K; she refused, saying that she had additional clothing at her mother's house.

* * *

K was in Auxiliary School program, classified as a senior expected to graduate in June 1974. She said she left school in October in order to work to maintain herself. At this time K does not have any plans regarding her education. I urged K to find out whether she could return to school as a student at the beginning of the second semester.

* * *

K was employed at a supermarket in September 1973. She earned $2.05 an hour and worked five days a week, five to eight hours a day, depending on the store needs. According to K this was not enough money and she left school to find day employment while she continued to work evenings at the supermarket. K stated she went to a temporary agency to seek clerical daytime work. On days she was unemployed K remained at home caring for B's children. Employment at the supermarket terminated for K on October 23, 1973. According to K, there were too many cashiers, and since she was the last one hired, she was the first fired.

I made arrangements for an interview for K at a bank for January 7, 1974. I requested evening hours, so that K might return to school.

* * *

K said that she went to the Department of Social Services, but was denied help.

* * *

The Red Cross will assist K and her roommate locate an apartment.

* * *

January 7, 1974: K called to say that she would be hired, pending the outcome of her physical examination.

January 10, 1974: K called me at home at 11:30 P.M. to tell me that she was employed by the bank, earning $110 a week, working four days a week from 3:00 to 11:30 P.M. She said the job was boring. She told me she lied on her application. They inquired about K's mother's place of employment and she told them her mother did not work. I asked why she had lied and she said it was none of their business. I also asked if she were aware of the consequences for falsifying an application. She said it was not the application, but some other form.

* * *

February 23, 1974: I called K at the bank. We had not heard from her in over a month. She did not go to work.

* * *

March 22, 1974: K came in for testing. She was very excited about her job at the bank. She spoke of the various machines she had learned to operate. They are the S-11, S-103, S-106, and S-110. K works as a Coder in the evening, earning $120 per week. Her first date of employment, January 14, 1974 (see conflict in date and salary in report--K, House Fire-Employment).

We talked about school. K indicated that she was making arrangements to take the GED in June. K requested that a letter be sent in her behalf to the bank requesting Wednesday afternoon off so that she might attend group sessions. I asked K about the money she was earning. She said her savings account was poor, but there was more than $100 in her checking account. She indicated errors had been made in her checking account; she then added "I told you, I don't trust banks."

* * *

May 15, 1974: I called K as we had not heard from her in some time. She said all was well with work; however, she was about to be evicted from her apartment. She explained that her roommate had disappeared without paying the rent and K, therefore, received an eviction notice. Only one month's rent of $85 was needed. K shares an apartment with her roommate and is there illegally since the apartment was rented to the roommate and her children. K is, therefore, skeptical about going to the rental office. I suggested that K take money from her bank account, pay the rent, and have her roommate reimburse her upon her return. K said there was no money saved; however, she was trying to get a loan from her bank.

May 16, 1974: K appeared at Careers Project. She told me her bank would not lend her the money since she had not been employed long enough. She told me that she also tried to borrow money from other banks. She was denied a loan at all of the banks. I doubt that K attempted to borrow money from all these banks; inasmuch as she came to Northside Center at 10 o'clock in the morning, I don't think she had time to go to all those banks in less than an hour to apply for a loan. I feel she came to see me, hoping I would be a cosigner for her or that I or the Project might lend her the rent money. I did not give her an opportunity to ask such a favor but suggested that she borrow the money from her family, or the family of her roommate. I asked K, "Did she have her share of the rent?" She said, "Yes." I told her then that it would be just a matter of borrowing $43. K said she would try to get the money from her mother....

June 13, 1974: I met with K today. She remains employed at the bank. She received an increase from $110 a week to $123 a week. In July 1974 she will become one of the assistants to her supervisor; her salary will then go up to $132 a week. Her job gave her the opportunity to earn additional money through a bonus incentive plan (more work in a shorter period of time yielded money). K said she is very good (fast) on the machines and earns $9 to $12 extra a week. K gets along well with her supervisor. She works evenings with approximately 75 people in a unit. She is friendly with two of the women and sees them on weekends. She plans to remain at the bank for at least a year. She had contemplated leaving to go to another bank which pays more money. She attempted to get credit cards, but was turned down since she had not worked for six months. She, therefore, decided that she needed to remain on one job for at least a year and she plans to accept any and all promotions. K likes her work and said there was never a dull moment. She is learning a great deal, using different machines and bank procedures. She received a warning slip after she had been out sick with the flu for three days. Her mother had called in for her, since she did not have a telephone; the bank wanted a call from K personally.

In addition to K's full-time bank job, she began working as a model on Saturday and Sunday. On June 8 she worked ten hours and on June 9 she worked four hours. She earned $3 an hour and enjoys modeling; she models her face and clothing. She described _______ as a "harem." She said they smoke and get into things there. She said she does smoke, but socially, not at work. K will later give us the _______.

* * *

K's mother does not like the fact that K is modeling; she is leery of the kind of people she will meet. Her mother also feels that modeling is a difficult way to make a living; she did advise K not to give up the bank job.

* * *

K continues to live with her roommate. K's sister is also living with them now. Her sister is graduating from high school within a few days and plans to go to college in September. K's parents are upset with the sister for moving out; they threaten not to attend graduation exercises. They also want K to talk her sister into returning home. K moved from her parents' house at age 16; she feels she made it and, therefore, cannot suggest that her sister cannot make it.

* * *

K said she had enrolled in a college training program for her high school equivalency diploma and is waiting to hear from them. She sat in on one psychology class at a university. After receiving her HSED, she plans to major in psychology. Until then she will sit in on classes.

* * *

K spoke of her Peace Corps days. She left her parents house at the age of 16, when her mother accused her of trying to kill her younger sister. It was only a fight, K said. Shortly after that she joined the Peace Corps. She remained for six months and left "because of the lesbians." K said that her roommate is a barmaid in a lesbian bar; K has been to the bar only once.

* * *

I asked K how she had worked out her rent situation in May. She told me that each time she lends money she demands an IOU, and she paid the rent by collecting her IOU's. K's roommate had gone south without paying the May rent. K stated that she had given her roommate the rent money; however, she did not pay the rent until after the eviction notice arrived. K is now thinking about securing her own apartment.

July 31, 1974: I called the Personnel Department of the bank to verify K's first day of employment.

October 9, 1974: K called me at home. I learned that she is presently attending a preparatory school. She hoped to earn her high school diploma in June 1975. She continues to work at the bank during the afternoon and attends school between the hours of 9 A.M. to 1:30 P.M. K said it was difficult to go to school mornings and work afternoons, but she was determined to obtain her high school diploma. She also said that she had given up her job as a model on Saturdays, as she needed the time to do her school work. She plans to keep her job at the bank.

Her reason for calling me was to inquire about recruitment for the new Careers Project. She explained that her cousin, who is presently in high school, was having great difficulty at home and at school. She said her cousin rarely attends school and doesn't have anyone to discuss her problems with. K wanted to know whether her cousin could possibly get into the project.

## G. SAMPLE OF TRAINING INSTRUMENTS

### I. The Application Process

Instruction Sheet

A. For what reasons might you fill out an application form?

1. employment
2. (credit charge accounts
   (installment purchases loans
3. housing
4. registration into a program Education/Pension
5. insurance life/health
6. to receive benefits Medicaid/scholarships

Can you think of anything else?

#3 What is this necessary for? What is the employer checking for? What type of job or situation would be concerned about this? How many of us simply spell our names differently or use a middle (or nickname) because we don't like our given names?

#4 a)_____own b)_____rent _____with parents

a) Do you own the house or apartment in which you live!
b) Do you pay the rent - not how much!

Check only one!

#8 No. of children
Not how many in the family!
How many children do you have!
How else might this appear on a form?
e.g. how many dependents do you have? (Count yourself!)
What is a dependent?

#9 Do you have a social security card? Memorize your social security #! Keep your duplicate in a safe place! What is social security? How does it work?

Look for that deduction on your payroll stub! What other deductions will you see? What is gross pay? What is net pay? What is an annual salary? What is minimum wage?

WE'LL COME BACK TO THESE AND
MANY OTHERS AT ANOTHER TIME!

Did everyone skip the insert?

#11 What does listing most recent position first mean? List in chronological order backwards what came last! Keep in sequence. Don't skip about!

#12 Check for terminology?

What is a naturalized citizen
What is a permanent resident
What is a student visa
What is an exchange visitor
What other types of visas are there?

Check only one!

#13 What do you think the employer is looking for?

drug history
prison record
health problems mental/physical

Gaps in your application form with respect to dates looks suspicious!

#14 What is a reference? Why do employers ask for references? Why are relatives eliminated; after all, they know you best.

#20 Why does any employer ask this? Is it legal? What should you do if you see it on a form you are filling out?

#22 Once you sign, you certify what you've told is the truth. What happens if you falsify an application?

a. grounds for dismissal
b. voiding of eligibility
c. prosecution, depends on type of application. Maybe with loan or credit. Could damage your credit record.

XYZ Corporation
1732 Nirvana Avenue
Anyplace, U.S.A.

## APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT

1. Applicant's full Name: Mr. Mrs. Miss ________________ Last (family) First Middle Initial

2. Married women give full maiden name: ________________

3. Please print here any variation(s) of your name which you have used on official records: ________________

4. Home address; No. & St. ________________ How long? ________

Town/City ____________ State _____ Zip Code ______

_____ Own _____ Rent _____ With parents

Telephone Number ________________

6. Birth: ________________ Place ________ Month ______ Day ______ Year

7. Marital Status: ________________

8. Number of children: ____________

9. Social Security Number: ____________

This Box Reserved for Business Office

9/73 No. 386
Position applied for ________________
Interview no. ________
Test results ________ Action ________
MA: ________
1/73 ________
(x) (xX)

## EDUCATION

| 10. Name of Institution | Address | Attended From Month & Year | Degree/ Diploma Received |
|---|---|---|---|
| ________________ | ________ | ____________ | ________ |

## EDUCATION (continued)

| 10. | Name of Institution | Address | Attended From Month & To Year | Degree/ Diploma Received |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ____________ | ________ | ____________ | ________ |
| | ____________ | ________ | ____________ | ________ |

## EMPLOYMENT

11. List all business, professional, or military experience you may have had: (List most recent position first)

| | Position | Employer (address) | From To | Immediate Supervisor |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | | | | |
| b. | | | | |
| c. | | | | |
| d. | | | | |

12. Are you a citizen of the United States? (x)

a. Yes _____

b. No, I am a permanent resident of the United States. ____

c. No, I am a student in the U. S. on a student visa. ____

d. No, I am in the United States as an exchange visitor. __

e. No, I am in the U. S. on a visa type not indicated above. ____

13. Have you had, within the last 3 years, any condition or problem, the care needed, and any limitation on your activity.

________________________________________

________________________________________

________________________________________

## REFERENCES

14. (Provide the names of 3 people, not related to you but having personal knowledge of you for at least 1 year, who will serve as references)

|  | Name | Address | Relationship |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | ____________________ | ______________ | ______________ |
| b. | ____________________ | ______________ | ______________ |
| c. | ____________________ | ______________ | ______________ |

15. Name of person to be notified in case of emergency.

_________________________________ Relationship _________

Address __________________________________________________

16. What foreign language do you speak fluently _______________

Read _____________________ Write _________________________

17. Sex: Female _____ Male _____ 18. Height: Ft. __ In. ____

19. Weight: _____

20. Ethnic Background: White ___ Black ___ Hispanic ___
Other ______

21. You are available for employment when? ____________________

22. I certify that the information on this application is complete and accurate.

Date of application: ______________

Signature of applicant: __________________________________

## II. HOW TO TAKE A TEST

Keep a Positive Attitude Toward the Test. You and your feelings about tests have a great deal to do with how you perform on a test. People frequently get so tense and nervous that they don't do as well as they could. They forget things they know or make simple mistakes. The following suggestions should help you overcome this problem.

A. Study and review material for the examination.
B. Give yourself plenty of time to do what you need to do before the test starts. Arrive at the test room a little ahead of the starting time.
C. Try to relax just before the test starts. Do not try to do last minute review or skim over the notes.
D. Try to keep calm, cool and collected.

Know the rules and directions for the test you are taking.

In the test room, read the directions carefully and make sure you understand them. For some tests you will be asked to answer all the questions and for others, you may be asked to answer some. Ask the person who is giving the test for help if you have trouble understanding the directions.

Find out the time limit of the test.

Some tests or parts of tests are given with time limits as short as 10 or 15 minutes. These are called SPEED tests.

### FOR A SPEED TEST

A. Work as Fast as Possible. A speed test is designed to determine how accurate you can be when working rapidly.

B. Skip a Question if You are Not Sure of the Answer. The test maker doesn't expect you to answer all the questions on a speed test but he does expect you to answer correctly the ones you attempt. When you leave out a question be sure you skip the same space on the answer sheet. If you answer all the questions you can before the time is up, go back and try to do the ones you left out.

For other tests, the time allowance varies from one hour to a maximum of 8 hours. These are called POWER tests.

## I Look at the Entire Test

That's right, as soon as the person giving the test tells you to begin, pick up the test booklet (page, sheet, etc.). Take a look at what you've got to do. By looking over the parts from beginning to end, you know what to expect.

a. Relax--the test isn't going to be that hard.

b. Budget your time--give yourself time to finish the whole test.

Most short-answer questions stress your ability to remember what you have learned. For a test with short-answer questions, you should go over the important points of a subject and find out how these points are related. Take a practice test for a warm-up.

## II Read the Questions Carefully

Make sure you're seeing just what's written and not what you hope or want to see.

a. Read all the possible answers. (Especially on a short answer test).

b. Pick out the best answer, i.e., the answer that comes closest to answering the question.

c. Read each question as a separate question and answer it as a separate question. The answer to any one question is not intended to help you choose the answer to any other question.

## III Analyze the Key Words

Make sure you read every single word in a question. There are often certain key words that will give you a clue to the correct answer. If you ignore these words, there's a good chance you will pick a wrong answer to a very simple question that you are capable of answering.

SOME OF THESE KEY WORDS ARE LISTED BELOW:

All
Always
Best
Common
Disadvantage
Maximum
Minimum
More
Most
Never
Generally
Great
Greatest
Less
Little
No
Some
Sometimes
Usually

Let's take an example to make matters clearer.

In a test you might be given the following question:

In New York State, snow storms occur most often during the season of

A. Spring B. Summer C. Fall D. Winter

If you failed to notice the word "most" in this question you might have chosen an incorrect answer.

The choice, "Summer," is obviously wrong to anyone who has lived in New York State during all four seasons. The choices, "Spring" and "Fall" are, however, possible correct answers if the word "most," in the phrase "most often," is ignored. Often there are snow storms in New York State during the Spring and Fall. However, the question asks when snow storms "most often" occur.

"Winter" is the correct answer because this is the season when snow storms occur "most" often.

### IV Answer the Easy Questions First, but Answer Every Question

The basic reason for this approach is simple. In a short-answer test all the questions in any one section count the same. You receive no more credit for a difficult question than you do for an easy one. Be prepared to find some questions that are easy for you and others that are more difficult. Don't waste time trying to puzzle out the hard ones. If you struggle with them, you may find yourself rushing through other questions, making careless mistakes on ones you should get right. Skip over the answer blanks of the questions you leave out. After you have answered all the easy questions, go back and try to answer any question you may have left out.

Remember, if the test doesn't have a short time limit, you should answer every question even if you are not sure of the correct answer.

## V If You're Not Sure Which Choice is Correct in a Short-Answer Question, Eliminate First the Choices You Know Are Wrong

In short-answer questions, there are four or five possible choices to a question. One possible choice is usually obviously wrong and one is usually not so obviously wrong, but wrong, nevertheless. Eliminate these two and you've narrowed the choices down to two or three.

Let's look at the snow question again.

In New York State, snow storms occur most often during the season of

A. Spring  B. Summer  C. Fall  D. Winter

"Summer" is obviously not correct. Eliminate it. You have left "Spring," "Fall," and "Winter." You know you can expect snow storms in the latter part of November and early December, part of the fall season, and in March and April, part of the spring season. But the question asks when snow storms "most often" occur. You know it snows during every month of the winter season so the best answer is "Winter."

## VI After You Decide on an Answer and Mark Your Answer Sheet, Don't Change It

This rule applied generally to situations when you are not sure of the answer to a question. Test makers have discovered that when answers are changed on answer sheets, more answers are changed to wrong answers than are changed to correct answers. So, once you've picked an answer and marked it down, don't have second thoughts and change it to another answer. If you do, you have a greater chance of choosing a wrong answer.

## VII Finish The Test

When you have answered all the questions, DON'T STOP.

A. Review your paper and make sure you've answered all the questions you are supposed to answer.

B. Don't answer questions you are not supposed to answer. You will waste time and effort for nothing because your answers will not be scored.

C. Don't look for patterns in the order of answer letters. Tests are not designed to have an equal number of A's, B's, C's, D's and E's for the correct answers. After reading each question carefully and giving the answer you think is correct, if you find that you chose C for your answer more often than any other letter, don't start thinking of these C's must be wrong. In other words, don't look for trouble.

## III. DOING YOUR BEST ON APTITUDE TESTS

### WHY TAKE AN APTITUDE TEST?

Aptitude tests help you find out what you can learn to do best. You may have the aptitudes needed for many different jobs. You may have the aptitudes needed for job training. Your aptitudes may be for school kinds of learning, or for on-the-job kinds of learning, or for both. Aptitude tests show you some of the jobs you could learn if you had the chance and interest to do them.

Aptitude tests are not the only way of finding out what you can do. But when aptitude tests are used along with what you know about yourself already, they can be sign posts that point in the direction of success.

### HOW SHOULD YOU STUDY FOR APTITUDE TESTS?

You can't study directly for aptitude tests. But you can get ready to do your best on them. How? By taking tests. Any test you take can help you learn how to take other tests. Take tests in newspapers, magazines, quiz books, or even school books. Be sure to set time limits for yourself if they are not set for you. By taking tests you learn what kinds of questions are asked and how to answer them.

### YOUR PHYSICAL CONDITION IS IMPORTANT!

If you are not well, you can't do your best work on aptitude tests. If you are half asleep, you can't do your best either. Here are some tips:

Get about the same amount of sleep you usually get. Don't stay up all night before the test, either partying or worrying - DON'T DO IT.

If you wear glasses, be sure to wear them when you go to take the test. This goes for hearing aids, too.

If you have any physical problems that may keep you from doing your best, be sure to tell the person giving the test. If you are sick or in poor health, you really cannot do your best on any test. You may be able to come back and take the test some other time.

### HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT TAKING TESTS MAKES A DIFFERENCE.

Some people complain about being nervous when they have to take a test. Remember, whenever something important happens to you, you are supposed to get a little nervous. Just as a pitcher warms up before a ball game, your mind and body are trying to warm up for the test by getting nervous.

If you are ready to take a test, you will be like a well-trained ball player. Your nervousness will get you warmed up but not tired out before you take a test.

Give yourself plenty of time to get to the test and even be early so you can sit down and relax for a few minutes before the test.

THE ONES WHO GIVE THE TESTS ARE THERE TO HELP YOU.

When you take a test, it is easy to think that the persons giving the test are trying to give you a rough time. Ask questions if there is anything you don't understand.

Don't be the strong silent type who asks no questions and then gets simple test questions wrong because he doesn't know what he is supposed to do. ASK QUESTIONS!

## HERE ARE SOME RULES TO KNOW

RULE 1. Work as fast as you can.

Most aptitude tests have short time limits and many questions. To get your best score you must work as quickly as you can. Each part is made so long that you can't finish, but the more you do correctly the better your score will be. To do your best you must work at your top speed during the time allowed.

If you waste time on one question either by trying to puzzle out the right answer or by changing the answer many times, you can't get to questions that might be easier. Don't let the hard parts of the test keep you from doing well on the easy parts.

RULE 2. Whenever you think you know the right answer, put it down.

Don't answer a question if you have no idea of the right answer. Do answer a question if you think you know the answer even if you are not sure it is right. In a nutshell, Rule 2 means "Don't be afraid to answer when you aren't sure you are right, but don't guess wildly."

RULE 3. Always follow directions.

Start working on the test as soon as you are told to start, but not before. Stop when you are told to stop. A good test score means that you followed directions and marked the right answers. A poor test score means, sometimes, that you just didn't follow directions. On some tests, you mark your answers in the test booklet, but on most tests you mark your answers on a separate answer sheet. You mark your answers by filling in an answer space shaped like one of these:

, ------ ------ , or ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' .

It really doesn't matter what the answer space is like; your job is to fill in the one that shows the right answer.

RULE 4. Don't give up.

Some tests are easy. Others are hard. But DON'T GIVE UP just because a test has a lot of hard questions. It's probably just as hard for the others taking the same test.

FOR REVIEW

How much have you learned about taking aptitude tests? Take this test to find out:

Make an "X" under "true" or "false" for each question.

| | True | False |
|---|---|---|
| 1. The purpose of an aptitude test is to screen people out of jobs or job training | | |
| 2. Some people don't have aptitude for any kinds of work | | |
| 3. One way to get ready to take a test is to practice on another test | | |
| 4. Get plenty of rest the night before the test | | |
| 5. The job of the people who give the tests is to keep the ones taking the tests in line | | |
| 6. When you get to the testing room, listen but don't ask questions | | |
| 7. You can't do your best on aptitude tests if you are nervous | | |

CE 003 179

| | True | False |
|---|---|---|
| 8. To do your best on aptitude tests work as fast as you can | _____ | _____ |
| 9. Answer questions if you think you know the right answer, even if you aren't sure | _____ | _____ |
| 10. Always follow directions | _____ | _____ |

CHECK YOUR ANSWERS

The answers to questions 1 and 2 are "false." Aptitude tests are to help you find out what you can do best, not to find out what you can't do. And everyone has aptitude for some kinds of work.

The answers to questions 3 and 4 are "true." Give your body plenty of rest and give your brain some exercise.

The answers to questions 5, 6 and 7 are "false." Remember that the people who give the tests are there to help you. That's their job, so don't be afraid to ask questions. If you're a little nervous don't worry--it may help you to do better.

The answers to questions 8, 9 and 10 are "true." Follow these rules and you will do your best on aptitude tests.

HERE ARE SOME HINTS FOR TAKING TESTS

1. Get ready for the test by taking other tests on your own.
2. Don't let the thought of taking a test throw you, but being a little nervous won't hurt you.
3. Arrive early, rested, and prepared to take the test.
4. Ask questions until you understand what you are supposed to do.
5. Some parts of the test may be easier than others. Don't let the hard parts keep you from doing well on the easier parts.
6. Keep time limits in mind when you take a test.
7. Don't be afraid to answer when you aren't sure you are right, but don't guess wildly.
8. Work as fast as you can but try not to make mistakes. Some tests have short time limits.